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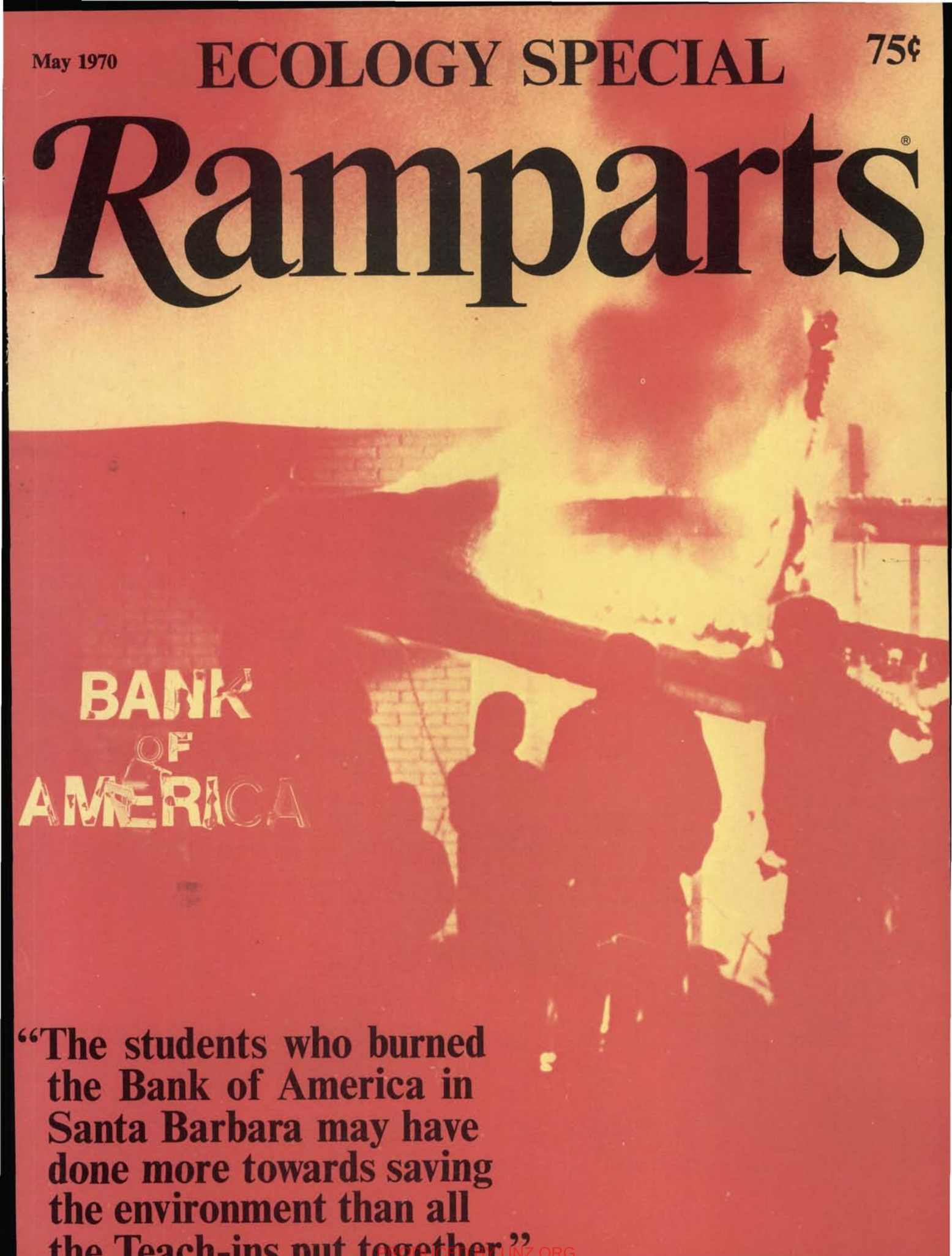

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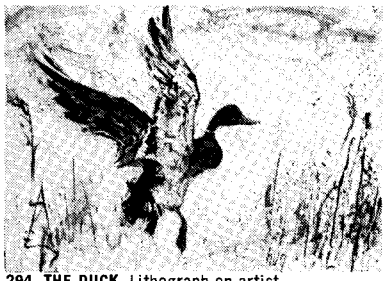

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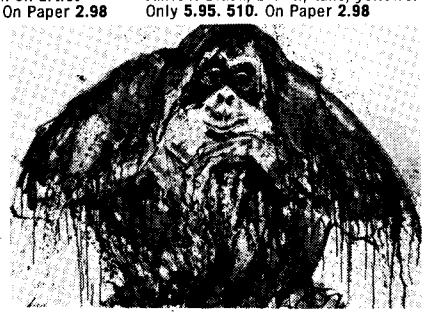

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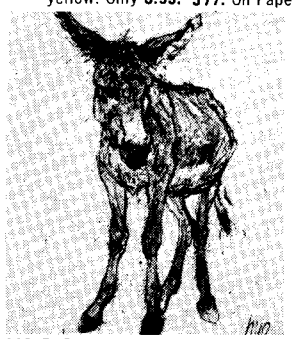

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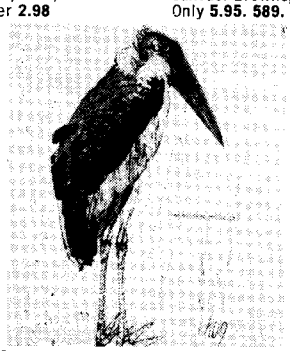

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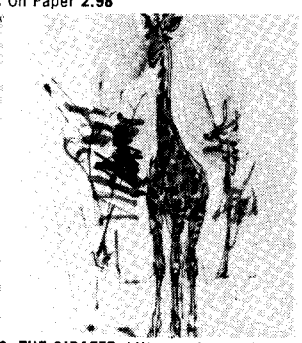

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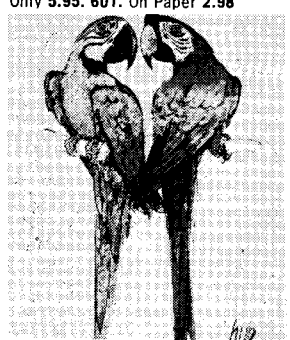

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Editorial

THE ENVIRONMENT MAY WELL BE the gut issue that can unify a polarized nation in the 1970's, writes Time magazine. The Hearst Press sees it as a movement "that could unite the generations." And the New York Times solemnly predicts that ecology "will replace Vietnam as the major issue with students."

The wishful thinking of a frightened Establishment? Perhaps. But the organizers of the officially-sanctioned April 22 Teach-In movement are doing their best to give life to the media's daydream about the co-optive potential of ecology. If they succeed, thousands of young people across the country will engage in a series of environmental extravaganzas, embellished to capture the excitement of the original Vietnam teach-ins, but structured to encourage the young to forsake the "less important issues" and enlist in a crusade to save the earth.

We think that any analogy between what is supposed to happen around April 22 and the organization of the Vietnam teach-ins is obscene. We think that the Environmental Teach-In apparatus is the first step in a con game that will do little more than abuse the environment even further. We do not think it will succeed.

The originators of the Vietnam teach-ins worked at great odds and against the lies and opposition of government, university administrations and the media. They raised their own money and had offices in student apartments or small storefronts. "Earth Day" came to life in the offices of Senator Gaylord Nelson, received blessings from Nixon's Department of Health, Education and Welfare, was funded by foundations, and has worked out of facilities lent by the Urban Coalition.

Vietnam protestors had to create their own reading lists, fact sheets and white papers; they had to work against the "expertise" of Southeast Asia scholars. The Environmental Teach-In comes pre-packaged; a well-paid and well-staffed national office sends local organizers an official brochure which avoids mentioning the social and economic environment with which Mother Nature has to cope. Friends of the Earth (FOE) provides, through Ballantine Books, a semi-official "Environmental Handbook," which insists that saving the environment "transcends the other issues" and that we should in non-partisan fashion "support a man from any political party if he is a true Friend of the Earth."

Never mind if he's a racist. Don't worry about whether or not he supports American imperialism. This spring the Nixon Administration is busy undoing 15 years of struggle for school integration; the police continue to murder black people in the streets; the American judicial system is disintegrating and, in the eyes of the State, every radical has become a conspirator; the war machine in Washington has made clear its intention to stay in Vietnam indefinitely and to spread its war to Laos. All this—and the Teach-In organizers want to banish everything but environment to the back pages of our minds. They must be blind, or perverse, or both.

How can anyone in this dark springtime believe kind words —about environment or anything else—from the men in power? Once we might have been able to believe that because a President had embraced the civil rights issue, apartheid in the Deep South was dead. But such illusions can hardly be sustained any longer. The Open Housing Act, the chief legislative victory of those years, finds use this season only for its "H. Rap Brown Amendment"—the interstate travel ban on which the Justice Department hung the Chicago 7.

Lyndon Johnson promised that We Shall Overcome. Now Richard Nixon promises to clean up America. Even TV's "Laugh-In" knows the punch-line: "If Nixon's War on Pollution is as successful as Johnson's War on Poverty, we're going to have an awful lot of dirty poor people around."

Haven't we learned after a decade of social struggle that major problems like Vietnam, Race, Poverty—now Environment—can't be packaged separately, each protected from contamination by "other issues"? Even the Kerner Commission realized that white racism was systematic, structural and linked to economic and social institutions. Even the most determined skeptic has now been shown by the Nixon Administration that the Vietnam war was no honest mistake, but the result of a long history of American expansion into Asia and a long-term policy of subjecting poor nations to the imperatives of American investors. To understand why Washington has persisted in its genocidal war in Indo-China, don't look at the politicians who come and go; look at the structures of power and interest that remain.

[II]

THREATS TO THE ENVIRONMENT are no different. At their source is the same division of society—those with power against those without: the corporations, which organize for their own benefit, against the people whom they organize destructively.

Look at the values which galvanize energies and allocate re-

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sources in the business system: pursuit of money, enrichment of self, the exploitation of man—and of nature—to generate still more money. Is it surprising that a system seeking to turn everything into gold ends up turning everything into garbage? The market is master. Business makes money meeting consumer demands; it makes even more money creating new demands. More money is spent on advertising and sales promotion in America, on planned obsolescence and consumer manipulation, than on all education—public and private, elementary school through the university. This is pollution of the mind, and it has its own costs. Some students estimate that socially useless, ecologically disastrous waste products make up nearly half of the Gross National Product. Nixon has already predicted a 50 per cent increase in the GNP by 1980, ostensibly to finance new priorities like environmental reform. It would be better if he had questioned how much waste the dynamic American economy will have to produce in the next decade simply to clean up the waste of past decades.

Others, like the organizers of the National Teach-In, tell us that it is in the interest even of the corporate rich to clean up the environment. If all their customers are asphyxiated by air pollution, explain these optimists, business (and businessmen) would expire as well. By this same logic, the military-industrial complex should bar the ABM from its cities, and the corporations, always eager to bring new consumers into the market, should make the war on poverty work. But no businessman, alone or with other businessmen, can change the tendencies of our ultimately ecocidal process unless he puts the system out of business. As long as society organizes production around the incentive to convert man's energies and nature's resources into profit, no planned, equable, ecologically balanced system of production can ever exist. Teach-ins which fail to confront this fact of life do worse than teach nothing. They obstruct knowledge and stand in the way of a solution. They join the struggle on the side which permits them truly to say—not of mankind, but of themselves—"We have found the enemy and he is us."

Perhaps the Teach-Ins could teach better if, instead of their present brochure, they distributed a full-page ad from Fortune's special environment issue. Sponsored by the New York State Department of Commerce, the ad pictures Governor Nelson Rockefeller inviting businessmen to come grow with New York. The pitch is simple: "Personal property of manufacturers is completely exempt from taxation in New York . . . During the past eleven years, there has not been one single new business tax in New York." Nowhere does the ad mention New York's long series of new *non-business* taxes. In 11 years in office, Rocky has first imposed, then hiked a new state sales tax; quadrupled the cigarette tax; tripled the gasoline tax; and lowered the minimum income below which poor people are free of the state income tax. Businesses apparently aren't expected to care who subsidizes their growth. But the ad does want them to know that Governor Rockefeller, author of the "soak-the-poor program," considers "economic growth—a continuing expansion of the private economy—to be the indispensable ingredient of all progress."

Rockefeller doesn't say this only because he's a Rockefeller; he says it because he's Governor and every governor wants business to invest in his state. Private business accounts for 85 per cent of the GNP; it must be kept happy and expanding, or, short of revolution, there will be nothing for anyone at all. Regulation of business consequently can never be more than self-regulation, federal intervention into the business sector never more than federal intervention on behalf of the business sector.

But regulation is not the question. We simply don't need any more gross national product, any more unnecessary goods and factories. What we do need is a *redistribution* of existing real wealth, and a *reallocation* of society's resources. Everyone knows what this redistribution and reallocation should do; the crises of the last ten years have made it all so obvious: The poor must have adequate income, the cities must be rebuilt to fit human requirements, the environment must be de-polluted, the educational system must be vastly expanded, and social energies now poured into meaningless pursuits (like advertising and sales promotion) must be re-channeled into humanly edifying and creative activities.

We must, in short, junk the business system and its way of life, and create revolutionary new institutions to embody new goals—human and environmental.

All this sounds utopian. Well, utopias are relative. More utopian by far than revolution is the idea that the present society, dominated by business, can create lasting, meaningful reforms sufficient, for example, to permit mankind to survive the century.

[III]

AT A RECENT "SURVIVAL FAIRE" in San Jose, California, ecology organizers bought a new car and buried it as a symbol of the task which they saw confronting ecology action groups. This was an indication of dangerous political naivete that must be overcome. To buy the car in the first place was to pay the criminal and strengthen him. But this act also pointed the finger of guilt at the consumer, who has only the choice of traveling to work by auto or walking 30 miles to work on the freeway. In opposition to this misdirected gesture of revolt, San Jose's black students angrily demanded that the car be raffled to provide defense funds for their brothers on trial. The blacks made their point very clearly.

In contrast to this Survival Faire, the week after the Conspiracy defendants were sentenced in Chicago, angry students razed the local branch of the Bank of America in Santa Barbara, California. The only bank in the Isla Vista youth ghetto, B of A had long treated young people as a class apart. It had opposed the grape strikers centered in Delano. It had supported, with branches in Saigon and Bangkok and with its leadership of the investment build-up in the Pacific, the American occupation of Southeast Asia. Two of its directors sit on the board of Union Oil, which had for so many months desecrated the once-beautiful beaches of Santa Barbara and destroyed their wildlife. Most important, as the branch manager explained to the press, it had been the major local symbol of capitalism and the business system.

Burning a bank is not the same as putting the banks and their system out of business. To do that, millions of people in this country will first have to wake up to the real source of their misery. The action in Santa Barbara, a community which has seen its environment destroyed by corporate greed, might spark that awakening. If it does, the students who burned the Bank of America in Santa Barbara will have done more to save the environment than all the Survival Faires and "Earth Day Teach-Ins" put together.

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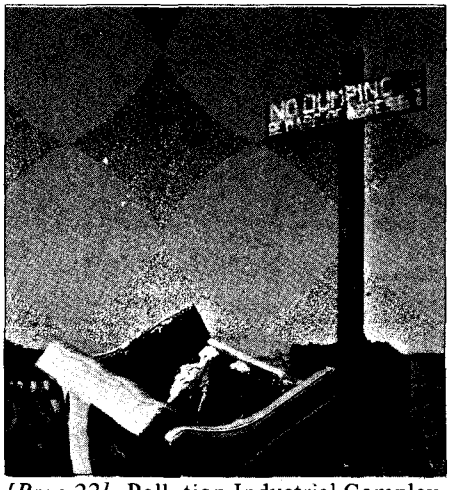

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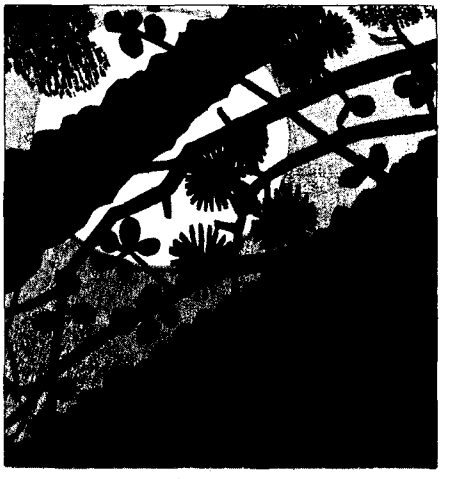

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"Puddle" *Woodcut by M.C. Escher*

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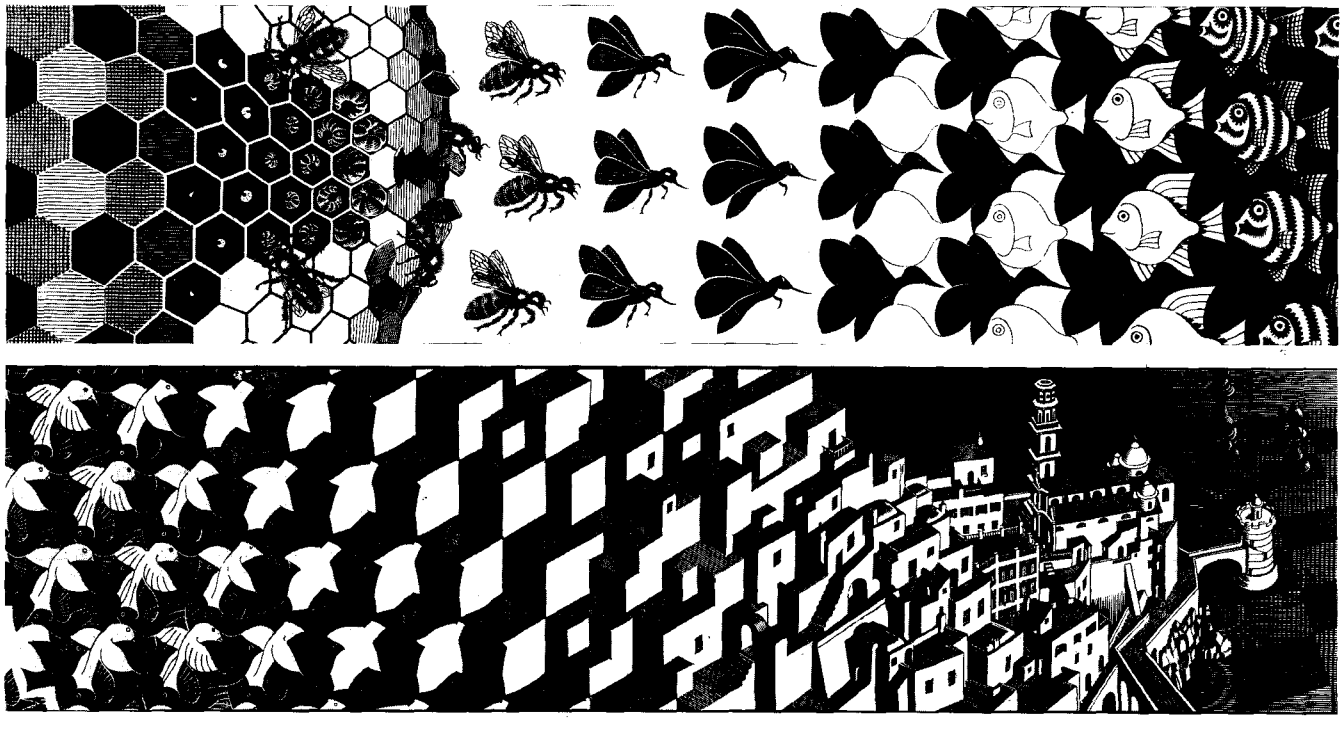
Toward an Ecological Solution

POPULAR ALARM OVER environmental decay and pollution did not emerge for the first time merely in the late '60's, nor for that matter is it the unique response of the present century. Air pollution, water pollution, food adulteration and other environmental problems were public issues as far back as ancient times, when notions of environmental diseases were far more prevalent than they are today. All of these issues came to the surface again with the Industrial Revolution—a period which was marked by burgeoning cities, the growth of the factory system, and an unprecedented befouling and polluting of air and waterways.

Today the situation is changing drastically and at a tempo that portends a catastrophe for the entire world of life. What is not clearly understood in many popular discussions of the present ecological crisis is that the very nature of the issues has changed, that the decay of the environment is directly tied to the decay of the existing social structure. It is not simply certain malpractices or a given spectrum of poisonous agents that is at stake, but rather the very structure of modern agriculture, industry and the city. Consequently, environmental decay and ecological catastrophe cannot be averted merely by increased programs like "pollution control" which deal with sources rather than systems. To be commensurable to the problem, the solution must entail far-reaching revolutionary changes in society and in man's relation to man.



Portions of "Metamorphose" Woodcut by M.C. Escher
Courtesy of the Phoenix Gallery, Berkeley

by Murray Bookchin

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[1]

TO UNDERSTAND THE ENORMITY OF the ecological crisis and the sweeping transformation it requires, let us briefly revisit the "pollution problem" as it existed a few decades ago. During the 1930's, pollution was primarily a muckraking issue, a problem of expose journalism typified by Kallet and Schlink's "100 Million Guinea Pigs."

This kind of muckraking literature still exists in abundance and finds an eager market among "consumers," that is to say, a public that seeks personal and legislative solutions to pollution problems. Its supreme pontiff is Ralph Nader, an energetic young man who has shrewdly combined traditional muckraking with a safe form of "New Left" activism. In reality, Nader's emphasis belongs to another historical era, for the magnitude of the pollution problem has expanded beyond the most exaggerated accounts of the '30's. The new pollutants are no longer "poisons" in the popular sense of the term; rather they belong to the problems of ecology, not merely pharmacology, and these do not lend themselves to legislative redress.

"Liberation" Lithograph by M.C. Escher
Courtesy of C.V.S. Roosevelt

What now confronts us is not the predominantly specific, rapidly degradable poisons that alarmed an earlier generation, but long-lived carcinogenic and mutagenic agents, such as radioactive isotopes and chlorinated hydrocarbons. These agents become part of the very anatomy of the individual by entering his bone structure, tissues and fat deposits. Their dispersion is so global that they become part of the anatomy of the environment itself. They will be within us and around us for years to come, in many cases for generations to come. Their toxic effects are usually chronic rather than acute; the deadly and mutational effects they produce in the individual will not be seen until many years have passed. They are harmful not only in large quantities, but in trace amounts; as such, they are not detectable by human senses or even, in many cases, by conventional methods of analysis. They damage not only specific individuals but the human species as a whole and virtually all other forms of life.

No less alarming is the fact that we must drastically revise our traditional notions of what constitutes an environmental "pollutant." A few decades ago it would have been absurd to describe carbon dioxide and heat as "pollutants" in the customary sense of the term. Yet in both cases they may well rank among the most serious sources of future ecological imbalance and pose major threats to the viability of the planet. As a result of industrial and domestic combustion activities, the quantity of carbon dioxide in the atmosphere has increased by roughly 25 per cent in the past 100 years, a figure that may well double again by the end of the century. The famous "greenhouse effect," which increasing quantities of the gas is expected to produce, has already been widely discussed: eventually, it is supposed, the gas will inhibit the dissipation of the earth's heat into space, causing a rise in overall temperatures which will melt the polar ice caps and result in an inundation of vast coastal areas. Thermal pollution, the result mainly of warm water discharged by nuclear and conventional power plants, has disastrous effects on the ecology of lakes, rivers and estuaries. Increases in water temperature not only damage the physiological and reproductive activities of fish; they also promote the great blooms of algae that have become such formidable problems in waterways.

What is at stake in the ecological crisis we face today is the very capacity of the earth to sustain advanced forms of life. The crisis is being drawn together by massive increases in "typical" forms of air and water pollution; by a mounting accumulation of nondegradable wastes, lead residues, pesticide residues and toxic additives in food; by the expansion of cities into vast urban belts; by increasing stresses due to congestion, noise and mass living; by the wanton scarring of the earth as a result of mining operations, lumbering, and real estate speculation. The result of all this is that the earth within a few decades has been despoiled on a scale that is unprecedented in the entire history of human habitation on the planet.

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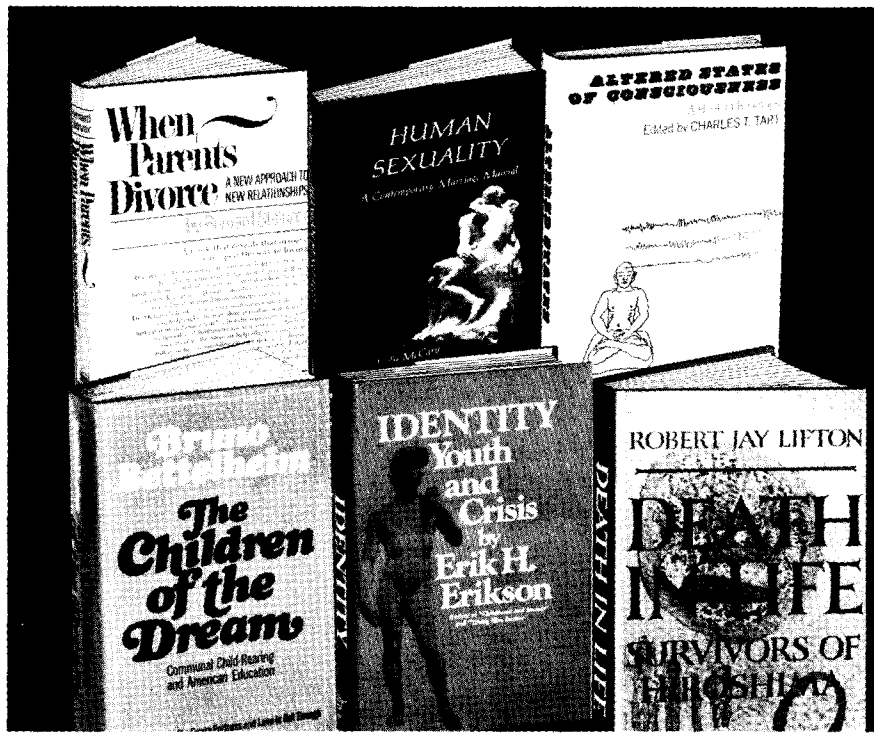

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Finally, the complexity and diversity of life which marked biological evolution over many millions of years is being replaced by a simpler, more synthetic and increasingly homogenized environment. Aside from any esthetic considerations, the elimination of this complexity and diversity may prove to be the most serious loss of all. Modern society is literally undoing the work of organic evolution. If this process continues unabated, the earth may be reduced to a level of biotic simplicity where humanity—whose welfare depends profoundly upon the complex food chains in the soil, on the land surface and in the oceans—will no longer be able to sustain itself as a viable animal species.

[II]

IN RECENT YEARS A type of biological "cold warrior" has emerged who tends to locate the ecological crisis in technology and population growth, thereby divesting it of its explosive social content. Out of this focus has emerged a new version of "original sin" in which tools and machines, reinforced by sexually irresponsible humans, ravage the earth in concert. Both technology and sexual irresponsibility, so the argument goes, must be curbed—if not voluntarily, then by the divine institution called the state.

The naivete of this approach would be risible were it not for its sinister implications. History has known of many different forms of tools and machines, some of which are patently harmful to human welfare and the natural world, others of which have clearly improved the condition of man and the ecology of an area. It would be absurd to place plows and mutagenic defoliants, weaving machines and automobiles, computers and moon rockets, under a common rubric. Worse, it would be grossly misleading to deal with these technologies in a social vacuum.

Technologies consist not only of the devices humans employ to mediate their relationship with the natural world, but also the attitudes associated with these devices. These attitudes are distinctly social products, the results of the social relationships humans establish with each other. What is clearly needed is not a mindless deprecation of technology as such, but rather a reordering and redevelopment of technologies according to ecologically sound principles. We need an eco-technology that will help harmonize society with the natural world.

The same over-simplification is evident in the neo-Malthusian alarm over population growth. The reduction of population growth to a mere ratio between birth rates and death rates obscures the many complex social factors that enter into both statistics. A rising or declining birth rate is not a simple biological datum, any more than is a rising or declining death rate. Both are subject to the influences of the economic status of the individual, the nature of family structure, the values of society, the status of women, the attitude toward children, the culture of the community, and so forth. A change in any single factor interacts with the remainder to produce the statistical data called "birth rate" and "death rate." Culled from such abstract ratios, population growth rates can easily be used to foster authoritarian controls and finally a totalitarian society, especially if neo-Malthusian propaganda and the failure of voluntary birth control are used as an excuse. In arguing that forcible measures of birth control and a calculated policy of indifference to hunger may eventually be necessary to stabilize world populations, the neo-Malthusians are already creating a climate of opinion that will make genocidal policies and authoritarian institutions socially acceptable.

IT IS SUPREMELY IRONIC that coercion, so clearly implicit in the neo-Malthusian outlook, has acquired a respected place in the public debate on ecology—for the roots of the ecological crisis lie precisely in the coercive basis of modern society. The notion that man must dominate nature emerges directly from the domination of man by man. The patriarchal family may have planted the seed of domination in the nuclear relations of humanity; the classical split between spirit and reality—indeed, mind and labor—may have nourished it; the anti-naturalistic bias of Christianity may have tended to its growth; but it was not until organic community relations, be they tribal, feudal or peasant in form, dissolved into market relationships that the planet itself was reduced to a resource for exploitation.

This centuries-long tendency finds its most exacerbating development in modern capitalism: a social order that is orchestrated entirely by the maxim "Production for the sake of production." Owing to its inherently competitive nature, bourgeois society not only pits humans against each other, but the mass of humanity against the natural world. Just as men are converted into commodities, so every aspect of nature is converted into a commodity, a resource to be manufactured and merchandised wantonly. Entire continental areas in turn are converted into factories, and cities into marketplaces. The liberal euphemisms for these unadorned terms are "growth," "industrial society" and "urban blight." By whatever language they are described, the phenomena have their roots in the domination of man by man.

As technology develops, the maxim "Production for the sake of production" finds its complement in "Consumption

(Continued on page 14)

"Cartouche" Woodcut by M.C. Escher
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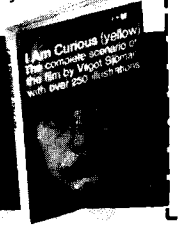

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	YES	NO
Have you ever made love outdoors?	☐	☐
Do today's "hot" sex films–like *I Am Curious (Yellow)*–leave you cold?	☐	☐
If the urge seized you, would you kiss your lover in public?	☐	☐
Do you find marriage manuals humorous?	☐	☐
Is sex the best thing in your life?	☐	☐
Do you favor legalized abortion?	☐	☐
Do you enjoy sex more keenly without liquor?	☐	☐
Does sex first thing in the morning appeal to you?	☐	☐
Do "dirty" jokes bore you?	☐	☐
Are you unflustered by the mention of masturbation?	☐	☐
Do you have a pet name for your lover's genitals?	☐	☐
Do you believe in freedom for homosexuals?	☐	☐
Do you indulge in sexual relations during menstruation?	☐	☐
Did you decorate your bedroom with sexual pleasure in mind?	☐	☐
Can a woman look sexy in her eighth month of pregnancy?	☐	☐
Do you approve of Denmark's repeal of all obscenity laws?	☐	☐
Do you undress for medical examinations without embarrassment?	☐	☐
Does your olfactory sense play an important part in your love-making?	☐	☐
Is the reality of your love-making more exciting than anything you've ever read about?	☐	☐
Did you really dig taking this test?	☐	☐

TOTAL: YES___ NO___

If you answered "Yes" to at least 15 of the above 20 questions, then you're part of that small, enlightened segment of the population known as "the avant-garde." Members of the-avant-garde are unabashedly self-indulgent with respect to sex. They're also emotionally mature, ruggedly individualistic, and light-years ahead of their time. They have one other trait in common: They're positively evangelistic about the magazine that serves as their voice–the pyrotechnic new bi-monthly **Avant-Garde.**

Avant-Garde, like the avant-gardists it serves, is concerned with more–*much* more–than sex. Each issue stones readers with cannabis fiction, clairvoyant politics, 2001-A.D. science, bloodhound reportage, demolition dissent, prismatic poetry, uproarious satire, X-ray profiles, kaleidoscopic artwork, irreverent interviews, demoniacal criticism, madcap cartoons, ballsy editorials, creative medicine, five-dimensional photography, and life-saving consumer exposés. **Avant-Garde** covers *every* subject of interest to readers of superior intelligence and cultivated taste.

Perhaps the best way to describe **Avant-Garde** for you is to list the kinds of articles it prints:

The New Left's Plans for Demonstrations at the Republican National Convention in 1972

Golda Meir's Recipe for Gefilte Fish

John Lennon's Erotic Lithographs–A portfolio.

The Doctor Who Called The A.M.A. "The American Murder Association"–A profile of courageous young Dr. Richard Kunnes.

Nixon's Freudian Slips–An hilarious collection.

The Secret Plans of Leading Tobacco Companies to Market Marijuana–If, as, and when pot prohibition is lifted.

Will the Vote for 18-Year-Olds Move America to the Left?

School for Scandal–How a New Jersey Job Corps center, using Federal funds, purchased thousands of racy, sex-exploitation paperbacks to stimulate the reading habits of corpsmen.

The Sins of Their Fathers–The dovish children of 10 hawks in the Nixon Administration (including those of the Secretary of Defense, Chief of Staff of the Army, Director of the CIA, and Secretaries of the Army and Navy) comment on their fathers' roles in the war.

Genetic Damage Caused by Coffee

Revaluating the Dollar–18 Artists design a new American one-dollar bill.

The Psychopathology of Smut-Hunters–A study entitled "The Star-Spangled Banners."

Uncle Sam at 200–42 Notables (including Dr. Albert Sabin, Cleveland Amory, Duke Ellington, Paul Krassner, Otto Preminger, and Ted Kennedy) offer plans for celebrating America's forthcoming Bicentennial.

Fractured Hip–A collection of side-splitting malapropisms by squares attempting to sound ultra-cool.

"The Appeal of Folk Singing: A Landmark Opinion"–An article by United States Supreme Court Justice William O. Douglas.

Censorship of G.I. Reading Matter in Vietnam

Devils' Advocates–A report on the new breed of hip lawyers who specialize in defending political activists.

Contraceptive Foods

"Please Don't Kill Anything"–A parable for our time, by Arthur Miller.

The Personal Political Convictions of David Brinkley and Walter Cronkite

S.O.B. Detroit–An exposé of the auto industry's shameless suppression of a car that would eliminate air pollution entirely.

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Live Wires–A report on Liberation News Service (LNS), the Underground Press Syndicate (UPS), and Intergalactic World Brain (IWB), the three supercharged wire services of America's 200 underground newspapers.

The Effect of Air Pollution on Potency

The Secret Diary of Lady Bird Johnson

The "Birth Tax"–A university professor's plan to make life for prolific parents unbearable.

Make Love and War–The intriguing life of female Vietcong guerrillas.

Pre-Mortem–At **Avant-Garde**'s invitation, 28 celebrities (including Federico Fellini, Art Buchwald, Woody Allen, and Gore Vidal) dictate their own obituaries.

Raquel on "Playing the Field"–"Sending actresses like me to Vietnam to entertain the troops is like teasing a caged lion with a piece of raw meat," says Raquel Welch. "It would be better if we stayed home and the government sent off troupes of prostitutes instead."

"Amnesty Now!"–An impassioned outcry by the editors of **Avant-Garde** for the release of over 1000 antiwar heroes now in prison.

Little Man on Campus–Students of Hubert Humphrey rate (and berate) him as a professor.

Making a Scene–Never-to-be-forgotten stills from the scene in Andy Warhol's *Romeo and Juliet* in which superstar Viva falls victim to an unplanned gang-rape.

The Declining Social Status of Smoking

The Emerging Black Businessman–A report entitled "The Ace of Spades."

The Naked Truth–Unreported cases of politically radical newspapers (like the *Berkeley Barb*, *Dallas Notes*, and *Washington Free Press*) being busted on the pretext of obscenity.

The Psychology of Political Affiliation–A report on the character traits that distinguish Republicans from Democrats, conservatives from radicals.

Pornographic Film Festivals at Lincoln Center by 1972–A prediction.

Whitey's Little Baby Loves Shortnin' Bread–Soul food moves out of the ghetto.

Orgy Etiquette

Japan: The 21st Century's Dominant Nation

Ultra-Violet in Infra-Red–The underground film sex goddess revealed in a new light.

An All-Female Police–The dead-serious proposal of poet Charles Olson.

The Most Hated Man in America–25 Celebrities (including John Cheever, Jack Newfield, Melvin Belli, Kurt Vonnegut, Oscar Brand, and George Gallup) make their nominations.

A Day for a Lay–First publication of a long-suppressed masterpiece by W.H. Auden.

Unreported Antiwar Agitation at West Point

The Sexual Adventures of the Avant-Garde–A series by our readers entitled "The Lust Battalion."

In sum **Avant-Garde** is a feast of gourmet food-for-thought prepared by the avant-garde, for the avant-garde. It's the quintessence of intellectual sophistication.

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Contributors to **Avant-Garde** range from brilliant and inspired newcomers to such illustrious and established figures as Pablo Picasso, Norman Mailer, Arthur Miller, Andrew Wyeth, Kenneth Tynan, Allen Ginsberg, Dr. Karl Menninger, W.H. Auden, Carl Fischer, Paul Krassner, Andy Warhol, Eliot Elisofon, John Lennon, Cleveland Amory, Nat Hentoff, Warren Boroson, Peter Max, Richard Avedon, John Updike, Roald Dahl, Art Kane, Charles Schulz, William Burroughs, Kenneth Rexroth, Paul Goodman, Marshall McLuhan, Herb Gold, S.J. Perelman, James Baldwin, Alan Watts, Salvador Dali, Terry Southern, Melvin Belli, Kurt Vonnegut, Malcolm Boyd, William Styron, Muhammad Ali, Jerry Rubin, Leonard Baskin, Jim Morrison, Cecil Beaton, Louis Untermeyer, Alexander Calder, William Steig, Hans J. Morgenthau, John Rechy, Dick Gregory, John Cheever, Jean-Paul Sartre, and Jean Genet.

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(Continued from page 10)

for the sake of consumption." The phrase "consumer society" completes the description of the present social order as an "industrial society." Needs are tailored by the mass media to create a public demand for utterly useless commodities, each carefully engineered to deteriorate after a predetermined period of time. The plundering of the human spirit by the marketplace is paralleled by the plundering of the earth by capital. The tendency of the liberal to identify the marketplace with human needs, and capital with technology, represents a calculated error that neutralizes the social thrust of the ecological crisis.

The strategic ratios in the ecological crisis are not the population rates of India but the production rates of the United States, a country that produces more than 50 per cent of the world's goods. Here, too, liberal euphemisms like "affluence" conceal the critical thrust of a blunt word like "waste." With a vast section of its industrial capacity committed to war production, the U.S. is literally trampling upon the earth and shredding ecological links that are vital to human survival. If current industrial projections prove to be accurate, the remaining 30 years of the century will witness a five-fold increase in electric power production, based mostly on nuclear fuels and coal. The colossal burden in radioactive wastes and other effluents that this increase will place on the natural ecology of the earth hardly needs description.

In shorter perspective, the problem is no less disquieting. Within the next five years, lumber production may increase an overall 20 per cent; the output of paper, five per cent annually; folding boxes, three per cent annually; metal cans, four to five per cent annually; plastics (which currently form one to two per cent of municipal wastes), seven per cent annually. Collectively, these industries account for the most serious pollutants in the environment. The utterly senseless nature of modern industrial activity is perhaps best illustrated by the decline in returnable (and reusable) beer bottles from 54 billion bottles in 1960 to 26 billion today. Their place has been taken over by "one-way bottles" (a rise from 8 to 21 billion in the same period) and cans (an increase from 38 to 53 billion). The "one-way bottles" and cans, of course, pose tremendous problems in solid waste disposal, but they do sell better.

It may be that the planet, conceived as a lump of minerals, can support these mindless increases in the output of trash. The earth, conceived as a complex web of life, certainly cannot. The only question is, can the earth survive its looting long enough for man to replace the current destructive social system with a humanistic, ecologically oriented society.

"Three Worlds" Lithograph by M.C. Escher
Courtesy of the Vorpal Gallery, San Francisco

THE APOCALYPTIC TONE THAT marks so many ecological works over the past decade should not be taken lightly. We are witnessing the end of a world, although whether this world is a long-established social order or the earth as a living organism still remains in question. The ecological crisis, with its threat of human extinction, has developed appositely to the advance of technology, with its promise of abundance, leisure and material security. Both are converging toward a single focus: At a point where the very survival of man is being threatened, the possibility of removing him from the trammels of domination, material scarcity and toil has never been more promising. The very technology that has been used to plunder the planet can now be deployed, artfully and rationally, to make it flourish.

It is necessary to overcome not only bourgeois society but also the long legacy of propertied society: the patriarchal family, the city, the state–indeed, the historic splits that separated mind from sensuousness, individual from society, town from country, work from play, man from nature. The spirit of spontaneity and diversity that permeates the ecological outlook toward the natural world must now be directed toward revolutionary change and utopian reconstruction in the social world. Propertied society, domination, hierarchy and the state, in all their forms, are utterly incompatible with the survival of the biosphere. Either ecology action is revolutionary action or it is nothing at all. Any attempt to reform a social order that by its very nature pits humanity against all the forces of life is a gross deception and serves merely as a safety valve for established institutions.

The application of ecological principles to social reconstruction, on the other hand, opens entirely new opportunities for imagination and creativity. The cities must be decentralized to serve the interests of both natural and social ecology. Urban gigantism is devastating not only to the land, the air, the waterways and the local climate, but to the human spirit. Having reached its limits in the megalopolis–an urban sprawl that can best be described as the "non-city"–the city must be replaced by a multitude of diversified, well-rounded communities, each scaled to human dimensions and to the carrying capacity of its ecosystem. Technology, in turn, must be placed in the service of meaningful human needs, its output gauged to permit a careful recycling of wastes into the environment.

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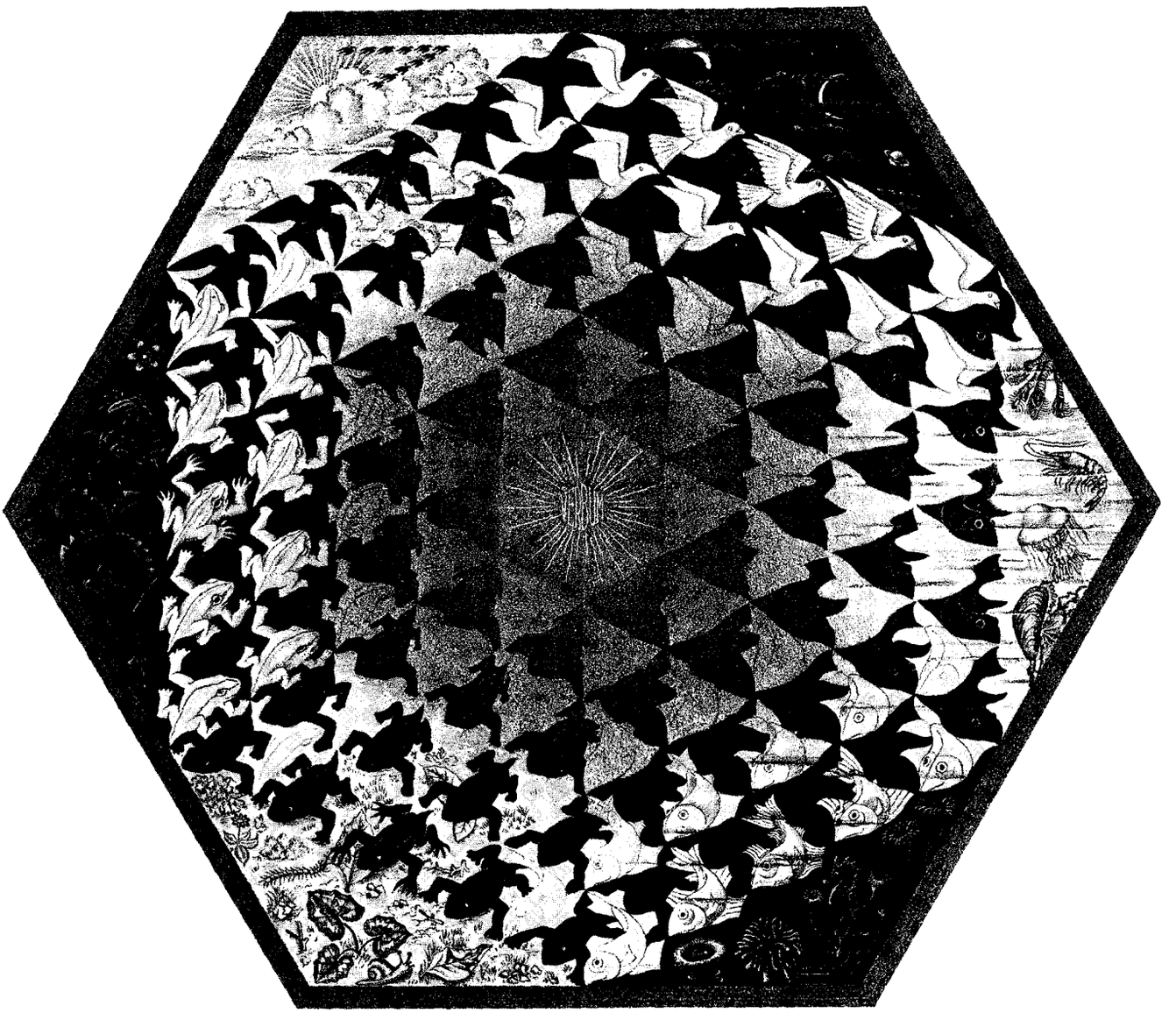

With the community and its technology sculptured to human scale, it should be possible to establish new, diversified energy patterns: the combined use of solar power, wind power and a judicious use of fossil and nuclear fuels. In this decentralized society, a new sense of tribalism, of face-to-face relations, can be expected to replace the bureaucratic institutions of propertied society and the state. The earth would be shared communally, in a new spirit of harmony between man and man and between man and nature.

In the early years of the 19th century, this image of a new, free and stateless society was at best a distant vision, a humanistic ideal which revolutionaries described as communism or anarchism, and their opponents as utopia. As the one century passed into its successor, the advance of technology increasingly brought this vision into the realm of possibility. The ecological crisis of the late 20th century has now turned the possibility of its early decades into a dire necessity. Not only is humanity more prepared for the realization of this vision than at any time in history—a fact intuited by the tribalism of the youth culture—but upon its realization depends the very existence of humanity in the remaining years ahead.

Perhaps the most important message of Marx a century ago was the concept that humanity must develop the means of survival in order to live. Today, the development of a flexible, open-ended technology has reversed this concept completely. We stand on the brink of a post-scarcity society, a society that can finally remove material want and domination from the human condition. Perhaps the most important message of ecology is the concept that man must master the conditions of life in order to survive.

During the May-June uprising of 1968, the French students sensed the new equation in human affairs when they inscribed the demand: "Be realistic! Do the impossible!" To this demand, the young Americans who face the next century can add the more solemn injunction: "If we don't do the impossible, we shall be faced with the unthinkable."

Murray Bookchin is the author (under the name Lewis Herber) of Crisis in Our Cities *(Prentice-Hall, 1965, $5.65). He is a regular contributor to Anarchos magazine, specializing in the problems of man and the environment.*

"Verbum" Lithograph by M.C. Escher
Courtesy of the Vorpal Gallery, San Francisco

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Catch 24,400

(or, Plutonium Is My Favorite Element)

by Roger Rapoport

THERE WAS A FAMILIAR RING to the fire alarm that sounded at 2:29 p.m. on May 11, 1969 at the Atomic Energy Commission (AEC) Rocky Flats plant, 16 miles upwind of central Denver. It signaled the latest in a series of over 200 fires that have occurred since the plant opened in 1953. But to hear the AEC tell it, Rocky Flats, which has the dangerous assignment of fabricating plutonium into nuclear triggers for hydrogen bombs and warheads, has built up an enviable safety record. Denverites who expressed concern about this latest accident were given a soothing, if somewhat evasive, official reply: "Rocky Flats ranks first in AEC facilities for safety and holds the fourth best all-time mark in American industry—2122 consecutive days (24,295,542 man-hours) without a disabling injury."

But all the press releases and National Safety Council plaques in Colorado didn't prevent plutonium from igniting spontaneously in the main production area on May 11. The flames leapt up inside the maze of glove boxes where plutonium is fabricated into parts for nuclear weapons. Tons of cellulose laminate shielding in the glove boxes fed the blaze, and it was nearly three hours before firemen brought the fire under control.

Days later Dow Chemical Co., which operates the plant for the AEC, reported that the fire had done $45 million worth of damage and burned $20 million worth of plutonium, enough to build about 77 Nagasaki-size atom bombs. But Dow and the AEC reassured increasingly nervous Colorado residents that no radiation had escaped from the safeguarded and specially constructed plant. Brandishing data compiled by the Colorado Department of Public Health and the U.S. Public Health Service, AEC spokesmen declared: "No appreciable amount of plutonium escaped from the building and no offsite contamination resulted from the fire."

This was supposed to be the last word. But for the over one million residents of Denver, it was the beginning of membership in the official AEC fairyland where accidents are infrequent, casualties unusual, pollution a forbidden word, and the gravestones carefully hidden from public view.

SINCE 1944 THERE HAVE BEEN 142 recorded atomic science fatalities, and cautious public health officials predict another 400 to 900 victims within the next 20 years. The conservatism in this estimate is clear when the facts are considered. In western towns, for instance, hundreds of thousands of tons of radioactive uranium mill wastes have been used as fill for construction sites and the radiation levels in some of the houses built on top of this waste are so high that residents are now being evacuated. AEC-sanctioned nuclear enterprises have contaminated the Colorado River, Lake Mead and the Great Salt Lake with radium; they have dumped radio-iodine into the Columbia River and released fission gases in Puerto Rico. They have seriously elevated iodine 131 levels in Utah milk and killed off deer and fish near Buffalo. And now two top experts predict that what the AEC regards as "allowable levels of radiation" could lead to as many as 32,000 extra cancer victims a year.

There are many reasons for this criminal irresponsibility.

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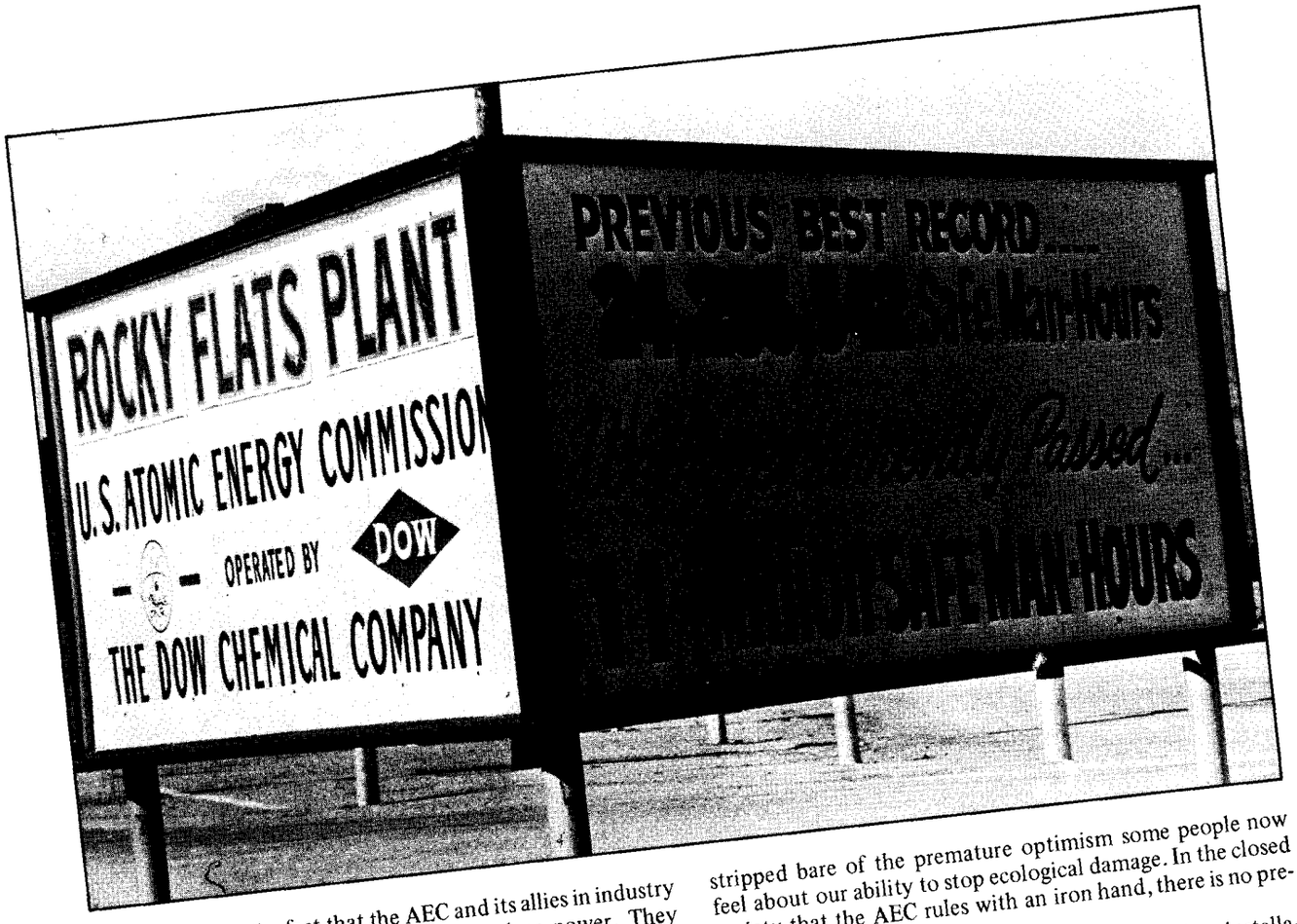

Photograph by Carl Iwasaki

Most obvious is the fact that the AEC and its allies in industry have totalitarianized their hold over nuclear power. They probably have more freedom to pollute than any other power structure in the country. The AEC finances, licenses, regulates and polices itself. Other government agencies involved in the sampling or monitoring of radiation pollution are often forced to rely on inadequate AEC data, or are themselves funded (and controlled) by the AEC. Consultants for the atomic energy industry who work under AEC research grants crop up time and again as prime congressional witnesses proclaiming radiation is virtually harmless if kept below the so-called "safe-threshold." And although atomic power reactors are so dangerous that insurance companies will not cover them (the public, through Congress, pays for $500 million worth of insurance on each plant), when a state agency tries to set tough radiation standards for proposed nuclear power plants in its area, it is immediately sued by the AEC.

Not only does the AEC control the scientific talent involved in atomic power, it also determines which information about its activities reaches the public. It covers up mistakes with national security blankets, and suppresses reports, scientists and employees critical of its failures. Most Americans believe that there is no such thing as radiation pollution. In fact, many of the new environmentalists are little more than vaguely aware of this, the ultimate pollution. Look at the official Handbook for the Environmental Teach-In: more than 50 articles, over 360 pages, and not a single study of radiation hazards.

A catalogue of the environmental crises we face is dangerously incomplete without inclusion of the AEC and radiation pollution. Atomic energy, in fact, is the conservation issue stripped bare of the premature optimism some people now feel about our ability to stop ecological damage. In the closed society that the AEC rules with an iron hand, there is no pretense of outside control.

Under the AEC's system of self-scrutiny, nuclear installations are free to contaminate both their workers and the public. The experience at Rocky Flats makes this clear. During the years the Colorado nuclear weapons production complex was being hailed as the safest of AEC plants, many workers there were being overexposed to plutonium. Plant officials refuse to say how many have died of cancer, but medical journal articles written by scientists employed at Rocky Flats admit that 325 workmen have been contaminated by radiation over the years. Between June 14, 1957 and October 28, 1958, there were 24 explosions, fires, plutonium spills and contamination incidents at the plant. According to congressional testimony, radioactive contamination has been found in the cafeteria, drinking fountains, sinks, laundered caps, shoes, drums, flasks, carts, lifts and saws—all these in the supposedly "cold" (non-radioactive) areas of the plant.

As in the case of the Santa Barbara oil disaster, technology to deal with accidents is almost non-existent. The AEC's solutions to the pollution it creates are almost pathetically inept. In 1968, for instance, a quantity of oil that had been contaminated by plutonium was scooped up, placed in a drum and trucked off from Rocky Flats to the official AEC burial grounds. En route, however, the drum began to leak, contaminating over a mile of highway. The AEC's solution was to repave the road. Unfortunately, plutonium's half-life of 24,400 years is a good deal longer than the full-life of asphalt, and many years from now, when the roadbed wears away, the

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hot plutonium will be exposed, to contaminate unborn generations.

AFTER THE MAY 11 FIRE, local scientists affiliated with the Colorado Committee for Environmental Information (CCEI) began to be skeptical of the Dow and AEC scientists. This independent group of college professors and privately-employed scientists asked the AEC to monitor Denver area soil for possible plutonium contamination from the fire.

In August 1969, Dow-AEC refused to make the plutonium soil samples. It explained to the CCEI that technical difficulties would make such a study inconclusive. So in the fall the CCEI's Dr. Edward Martell, a nuclear chemist with the National Center for Atmospheric Research in Boulder, began conducting his own soil samples for plutonium. This former Pentagon specialist in nuclear weapons testing concluded his work in December 1969 and announced that highly lethal plutonium oxide from Rocky Flats had definitely spread out into metropolitan Denver during the May 11 holocaust. Martell found the highest plutonium contamination in areas east and southeast of the plant towards the Denver suburbs of Broomfield, Westminster and Arvada. High levels of plutonium were also found in Great Western Reservoir, part of the Broomfield water supply. The contamination of Denver ranged from 10 to 200 times higher than plutonium fallout deposited by all atomic bomb testing. And it was nearly 1000 times higher than the amount plant spokesmen said was being emitted.

The AEC and Dow sprang into action to try to counter Martell's facts. Bearing a cloak-and-dagger air, this counter-offensive began in early December when General Edward B. Giller, assistant AEC general manager for military application, learned that Martell was making independent soil samples and ordered the Rocky Flats staff to initiate similar work. Stanley Hammond, a chemist at Rocky Flats, even contacted Martell and asked for technical advice on how to make good soil samples for plutonium. Martell not only told him how to do it but sent some of his own soil samples over to Rocky Flats. The AEC study essentially corroborated Martell's data. As General Giller puts it: "So far we find his results are accurate, we don't disagree with his new data. As far as measurements, sampling techniques and knowledge of science we think Martell is a very competent scientist. Of course we question his interpretation of the new information. While it is true that some plutonium is escaping from the plant we don't believe it presents a significant health hazard to Denver." The AEC elaborated in a later press release: "Rocky Flats . . . has released trace amounts of plutonium. . . . However, these quantities have never shown a level of radioactivity in excess of the natural background radiation."

BACKGROUND RADIATION IS A favorite AEC game. Because the plutonium oxide particles from Rocky Flats emit dangerous alpha radiation, the agency tries to compare them with naturally occurring (background) particles that also emit alpha radiation. Dr. Arthur R. Tamplin, an expert on the physiological effects of radiation and one of the few independent AEC scientists who have dared publicly to question the organization's dangerous nuclear mythology, explains what this means for Denver: —"The Martell study shows about one trillion pure plutonium oxide particles [plutonium oxidizes in a fire] have escaped from Rocky Flats. These are very hot particles. You may only have to inhale 300 of them to double your risk of lung cancer. Inhaled plutonium oxide produces very intense alpha radiation dosage to lung tissue, thousands of times higher than the intensity for radioactive fallout particles and millions of times more intense than the dose from natural alpha radioactivity. An inhaled plutonium oxide particle stays in your lungs for an average of two years, emitting radiation that can destroy lung tissue. If the plutonium from the May 11 fire is being redistributed as Martell suggests, then it could increase the lung cancer rate for Denver by as much as 10 per cent. This could lead to as many as 2000 additional lung cancers in Denver."

Although Dr. Martell has already found a terrifying quantity of plutonium in Denver, he believes far more remains to be discovered. The Boulder scientist based his report on about 90 soil samples but believes hundreds more are necessary for a comprehensive insight into the extent of the contamination. He has urged that the federal government, independent of the AEC, launch a comprehensive soil sampling program in the Denver area.

Both federal and state agencies finally heeded Martell's call for a review of Rocky Flats, but their studies are neither comprehensive nor independent. President Nixon's top scientific advisory group, the Office of Science and Technology (OST), says it is now making an "independent analysis" of Rocky Flats contamination. Two AEC scientists from the agency's health and safety laboratory in New York have been taking 25 soil samples from sites in and around the plant. Results of these samples will be submitted to Dr. Hubert Heffner, deputy director of the OST, who says, "We have been assured [by the AEC] that this will be a comprehensive [sampling] program." Dr. Heffner plans to compare the AEC data with Martell's report and decide who is "more nearly right" in his measurements of contamination. While stating that he will not judge the case until all the data is in, Dr. Heffner declares, "My supposition is that the health consequences created by the plant are not severe."

A second independent study of Rocky Flats contamination is being conducted by the Colorado State Department of Health. The agency collected soil samples at 25 locations around Rocky Flats and sent them to the U.S. Public Health Service (USPHS) Southwestern Radiological Health Laboratory for analysis. The Las Vegas-based lab monitors the AEC's Nevada test site and is funded by the AEC.

ROCKY FLATS IS NOT AN isolated example of AEC totalitarianism. There has been bad news before, and it is always euphemized by AEC publicists capable of first-rate fiction. In the official agency booklet "USAEC—What It Is, What It Does," for example, it is claimed that, "The AEC has an impressive safety record. For example, since the beginning of the atomic energy program in 1942 there have been only seven deaths from nuclear causes among atomic energy workers in the United States." But U.S. Public Health Service studies show that 142 uranium miners have already died because of radiation overdoses ranging as much as 500 times over the safe level. And Charles C. Johnson, Jr., head of the U.S. Consumer Protection and Environmental Health Service, says, "Of the 6000 men who have

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been uranium miners, an estimated 600 to 1100 will die of lung cancer within the next 20 years because of radiation exposure on the job."

AEC negligence has spread the hazards of uranium mines into homes in western mill towns, allowing more than 300,000 tons of uranium mill tailings (which emit the same radon gas that has led to high incidence of lung cancer in uranium mines) to be used as construction fill in little towns like Grand Junction, Colorado. And about 60 miles northeast of Grand Junction the AEC is showcasing Project Rulison, one of its latest schemes for the peaceful use of atomic energy. In September 1969, the AEC detonated a 40-kiloton underground nuclear explosion to free natural gas deposits. But now Project Rulison is a topic of debate among Colorado citizens because when the gas is flared, tritium and other radionuclides pollute the air. However, the AEC and its ally in the project, Austral Oil Co., have even more grandiose plans: they want to dilute the radioactive gas that was freed (but contaminated) by the blast by mixing it with uncontaminated gas; then they want to pump it into customers' homes.

The citizens around Rulison have gone into court to stop radiation pollution in their area. But even if the AEC should lose this battle, it still has the wider war to think of. For it is hoping to electrify homes and businesses with nuclear power. At the moment, about 75 American atomic power plants are planned or under construction. It is these nuclear power plants that comprise the largest hazard of radiation for the future. The 15 plants already built don't give much cause for optimism, since those in Michigan, New Jersey and Minneapolis are currently shut down due to malfunction. As far back as 1957, one of the AEC's own studies suggested that a reactor built 30 miles from the nearest city could kill 3400 people, injure 43,000 and cause $7 billion damage in a bad accident.

The AEC has a flock of experts devoted to studying radiation hazards. One of them is Dr. Wright Langham, a ranking AEC plutonium expert at Los Alamos, New Mexico. When American bombers accidentally dropped nuclear weapons on Palomares, Spain, it was Dr. Langham who rushed in to monitor plutonium contamination; he was subsequently awarded the Pentagon's Distinguished Service Medal in 1967 for his work. In a paper written for the Department of Health, Education and Welfare in 1968 on "The Problem of Large Area Plutonium Contamination," Dr. Langham says, "Plutonium is my favorite element. . . . The reputation of plutonium as a toxic material perhaps has contributed more than any other thing to my being supported in the modest though comfortable manner to which I have grown accustomed."

Scientists who formulate radiation protection standards say that safety is not the only consideration. For example, the International Commission on Radiological Protection reported: "At the present time, risk [health] considerations can at best play only a very general role in specific recommendations . . . and operational and administrative convenience must of necessity be of equal importance."

DESPITE THE PRESSURES TO conform, two experts have started a crusade to stop the agency's radiation pollution. Charging that currently allowable radiation pollution could cause as many as 32,000 extra cancer deaths each year, they are calling for a ten-fold reduction in present radiation exposure limits.

The insurgent scientists, Drs. John Gofman and Arthur Tamplin of the Biomedical Division of the AEC's Lawrence Radiation Lab at Livermore, are among the nation's leading experts on the medical effects of radiation. Both Gofman and Tamplin have had a continuing interest in radiation dangers throughout their professional lives, but Gofman's concern was hard-earned and dates back to 1941 when he was a Berkeley graduate student studying under then Assistant Professor of Chemistry Glenn Seaborg.

Gofman and Seaborg co-discovered uranium 233 and the young student was assigned to demonstrate that U233 was fissionable with neutrons. Such evidence would open up the world's thorium supply as a vast new source of atomic energy. Gofman was to bombard the virgin isotope with a one-gram radium-beryllium neutron source. A gram of radium-beryllium is deadly stuff, and is moved about inside lead containers. To protect himself, Gofman went to work building a small conveyor that would transport the hot neutron source up to the U233 by remote control. But Professor Seaborg was impatient. One day he dropped by and chided Gofman for being overly concerned with safety. "The war will be over before you get any [fission] measurements this way," he said.

So Dr. Seaborg came up with a better idea. Gofman remembers being instructed to tie a rope to the radium-beryllium source and connect it to a big stick. Like a fisherman he could cast the hot neutron source across the room to the U233 where the fission test could be conducted. Seaborg left the room and Gofman did precisely what he was told. The experiment succeeded; U233 was fissionable. Seaborg went on to win the Nobel Prize and become chairman of the AEC; Gofman received a disastrous overdose of radiation, at least 100 times the permissible exposure level. So far, Gofman has fortunately not experienced any ill effects from the overexposure.

In 1963, Gofman, by then a Ph.D., M.D. and Professor of Medical Physics at Berkeley, was hired to head a new AEC biomedical lab at Livermore that would be devoted to studying radiation's effect on man and his environment. The lab was established in part to quell growing public concern about nuclear fallout, but after the Nuclear Test Ban Treaty was signed, the concern diminished and financial support for the lab waned.

As head of the Livermore Biomedical Lab and an associate director of the Lawrence Radiation Lab, Gofman hired biophysicist Tamplin. The tall, soft-spoken scientist pioneered the standard technique for measuring nuclear test fallout patterns, and with Gofman began to question the conventional AEC wisdom. At various symposiums the two men pointed out that AEC pet projects like nuclear excavation pose a grave health risk to the public. They also countered the official AEC theory of "acceptable levels of radiation" with the linear theory of radiation exposure which says that any radiation, no matter how slight, poses risks.

Indirectly, Gofman and Tamplin's crusade received a slight lift in early 1969 from University of Pittsburgh scientist Ernest Sternglass. In a widely quoted report, Sternglass charged that nuclear test fallout has caused 400,000 prenatal and infant mortalities. The AEC immediately asked Tamplin and several of his colleagues to do a critique of Sternglass' report. Tamplin agreed and presented a paper before an AEC

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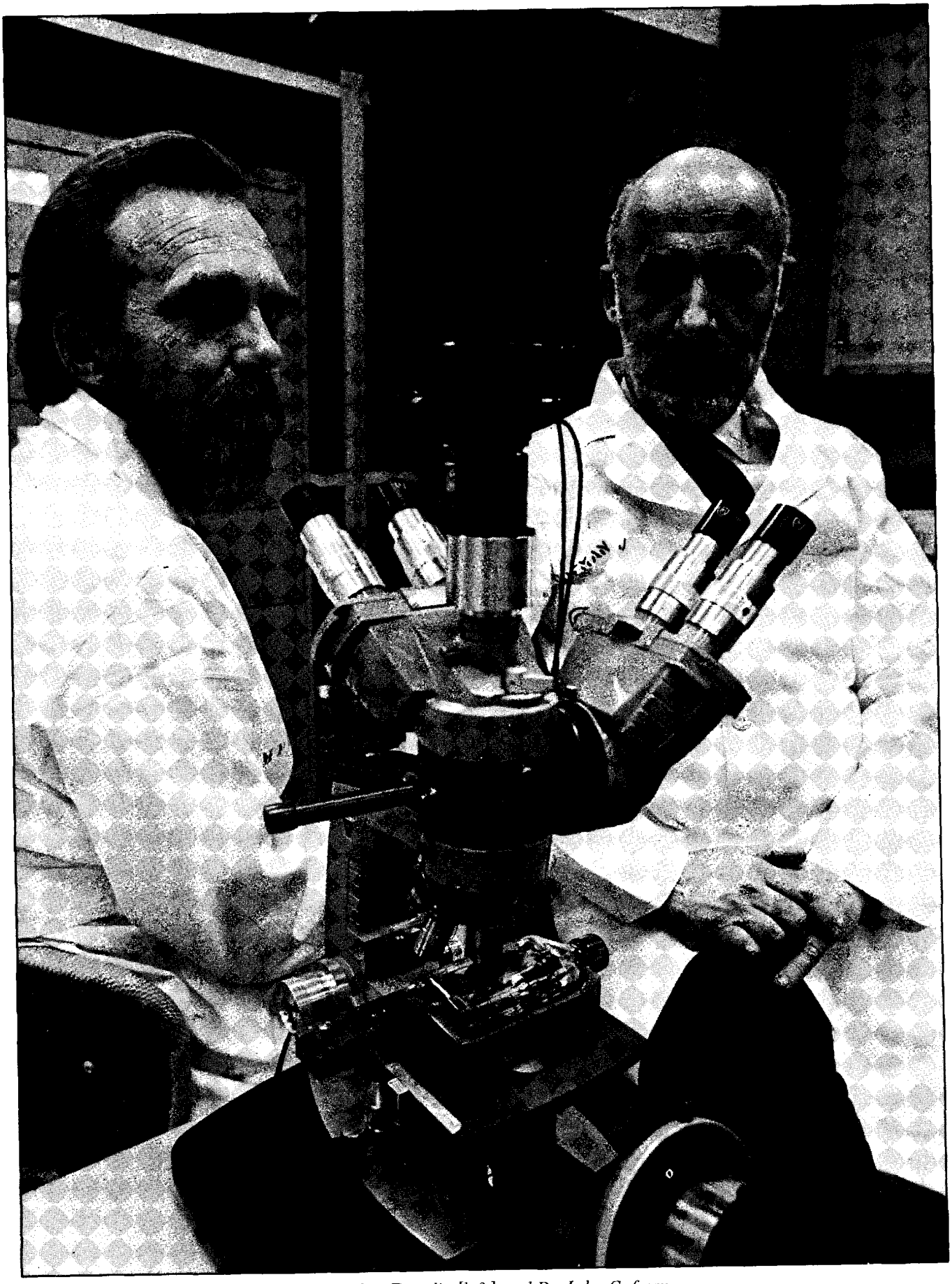

Dr. Arthur Tamplin [left] *and Dr. John Gofman*

Photograph by Baron Wolman

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Livermore symposium in April 1969 that declared Sternglass had overestimated the effects of fallout. Tamplin calculated that the fallout had caused only 4000 infant and prenatal mortalities, just one per cent of Sternglass' figure.

Tamplin proceeded to write up his report as an AEC technical paper. In August 1969 Tamplin's boss, Dr. John Totter, head of the AEC's Division of Biology and Medicine, tried to persuade Tamplin to delete a section from the paper. In a phone call on August 13, Totter and Spofford English, an assistant AEC general manager, tried to persuade Tamplin to criticize Sternglass but delete his risk estimate of 4000 infant and prenatal mortalities. Even though this was a mere fraction of the Sternglass estimate, the AEC executives did not want to lend any credence whatsoever to the Pittsburgh scientist's report. When Tamplin refused to accede to the telephone pressures from Washington, Totter wrote two letters reiterating his demand.

Tamplin ignored his AEC superiors and published the complete paper as a technical document. As AEC pressure on them built up, Gofman and Tamplin decided to fight back. In a San Francisco speech in late October 1969, the two scientists publicly announced their call for a ten-fold cut in allowable radiation levels. Then in mid-November they reiterated their demand before the U.S. Senate Public Works Subcommittee on Air and Water Pollution.

In December the AEC staff in Washington issued a nine-page critique of the California scientists' call for tougher radiation standards, and said there was nothing new in the Gofman-Tamplin paper, that the data was inconclusive and the report should have been published in a respectable, refereed scientific journal before it was released to Congress (this is the line the AEC has used unsuccessfully to try to persuade Tamplin to delete his risk estimate in the Sternglass critique). On this basis the AEC concluded there was no need for an official review of radiation protection standards.

But the Federal Radiation Council, which sets the nation's radiation protection standards, disagreed with the AEC. On January 28, 1970 the Council revealed that it was initiating an unprecedented review of radiation standards, as called for by Gofman and Tamplin. Instead of honoring Gofman and Tamplin, however, the scientific establishment snubbed them. On January 30, 1970 Phillip Abelson, editor of influential Science magazine, co-discoverer of neptunium and a charter member of the nuclear power fan club, rejected a Gofman-Tamplin paper on the need for tighter radiation standards. Then in early February, Science published a three-page critique of the Gofman-Tamplin work.

THUS WE SEE WHAT IS required to get the nuclear power structure finally dragged into position for a bit of public scrutiny. But there is no cause for immediate optimism. Those like Gofman and Tamplin fighting within the scientific establishment, and those on the outside who believe the AEC can no longer be allowed to play judge, jury and nuclear hangman, face a long, long fight. The totalitarian polluter, despite all the adverse publicity, is still far more powerful than public opinion.

If you have any doubts about how these nabobs of nuclear power work, you should check out the current scene in Denver. While a few independent scientists wait on the fringes of the disaster to count extra lung cancers produced by the plutonium catastrophe at Rocky Flats, the AEC is on the scene

Glenn Seaborg

with millions to spend on cleanup and publicity, piping in Muzak for the men scraping plutonium off the scorched floors and reminding all that the plant is a bulwark of national defense. Over 3000 employees are glad to have their jobs and some of them write letters to local newspapers suggesting all the talk about plutonium contamination in Denver is actually a Bolshevik scare tactic. Press releases handed out by Dow Chemical's public relations man Mike Carroll (a former FBI agent) try to soothe the public. Meanwhile, the security system (the AEC spent over $7 million for security investigations on its employees during 1969) is used to intimidate malcontents. After a newspaper article quoted a Rocky Flats worker complaining that he had leukemia and could not get workmen's compensation from the AEC, for instance, meetings were called throughout the plant. Management spokesmen castigated the man for talking to the press, and the plant manager wrote a letter to the editor noting that the workman's brother also had cancer, a fact that made it all a problem of heredity.

Its $45 million cleanup operation continues, and the AEC is also spending another $75 million to double Rocky Flats production facilities. There is one thing that is clear: there will surely be a fire next time. And another after that, and still others. There are only two ways for it to end: Either the AEC's power is shut off, or the Rocky Flats area becomes a plutonium mine.

Roger Rapoport is a free-lance journalist and co-author with L. J. Kirshbaum of Is the Library Burning? *(Random House, 1969, $4.95).*

Photograph by Ted Streshinsky

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The Making of a Pollution-Industrial Complex

by Martin Gellen

IN JANUARY OF THIS YEAR Coca-Cola Company announced its purchase of Aqua-Chem, a leading manufacturer of water treatment equipment and desalination systems. "The acquisition will permit Coca-Cola to enter the mainstream of environmental control systems," declared a spokesman for the company. Perhaps the people at Coke have seen the handwriting on the wall and realize that their livelihood depends on having clean water to make brown. But whatever the precise reasoning, the marriage of Coke and Aqua-Chem is just one among a rash of similar developments on Wall Street where pollution control has emerged as one of the hottest growth industries of the '70's. As Forbes Magazine put it in a recent cover story, there's "cash in all that trash."

Since the beginning of December 1969, despite a market engaged in a remarkably stubborn downward spiral, stock issues of companies with substantial interests in pollution control have made price advances of often better than 50 per cent. For instance, Research-Cottrell, Inc., the largest of the corporations devoted entirely to environmental systems, has quadrupled its sales in five years. For the pollution control industry as a whole, the average annual growth rate for the next five years is expected to climb to better than 20 per cent, which is almost three times that of most manufacturing groups.

Lester Krellenstein, an engineer and pollution control promoter for the brokerage firm of H. Hentz and Company, believes that President Nixon's appointment of a Council of Environmental Quality triggered the heavy buying. According to Krellenstein, "A great deal of money is going to be made in this business." Present estimates of the potential market start at $25 billion.

But of all the developments in the fledgling industry, by far the most instructive is the corporate integration of polluters and controllers. About two dozen pollution control companies are subsidiaries or divisions of the largest corporations and polluters in the United States. Represented among this latter group are Dow Chemical Co., Monsanto Chemical, W. R. Grace, DuPont, Merck, Nalco, Union Carbide, General Electric, Westinghouse, Combustion Engineering, Honeywell, Beckman Instruments, Alcoa, Universal Oil Products, North American Rockwell, and many others. Although these super-corporations currently make less in sales from pollution control than do smaller firms like Research-Cottrell and Wheelabrator, their superior access to capital, resources, markets, management skills and political power will invariably be translated into a superior competitive position as the ecology movement flowers and the control industry grows.

[II]

THE POLLUTION CONTROL INDUSTRY is really an extension of both the technological capabilities and the marketing patterns of the capital goods sector of the economy. Most of the companies involved in pollution control are not only polluters themselves but are the same firms which supply the chemicals, machines, plant fuels

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and parts for even bigger polluters, such as General Motors, U.S. Steel, Boeing, Standard Oil, Philco-Ford, American Can Co. and Consolidated Edison. For many of these firms, pollution control is merely one aspect of a program of "environmental diversification," which is generally accompanied by heavy investment and aggressive acquisition programs.

Koppers, for instance, is an engineering and construction firm that designs municipal sewage plants as well as air and water purification systems. Among its many specialties in pollution abatement is the production of gas removal devices for electric utilities, steel plants, coke plants and foundries. At the same time, however, Koppers is one of the world's leading builders of steelmaking equipment and is responsible for designing over 25 per cent of all basic steelmaking facilities in the U.S., as well as half of the present domestic coke plants in operation. Thus it gets the business coming and going. Since 80 per cent of the coke plants in the nation will require modernization in the '70's, and the steel industry expects to increase its overall capacity by 50 per cent, Koppers can expect good profits designing the pollution control systems needed to curb the pollution caused by all the new coke ovens, steel furnaces and foundries which it will construct.

IT IS THE CHEMICAL INDUSTRY, however, that best illustrates the consequences of the incest between the pollution control business and the industrial polluters. First, the chemical industry is in the enviable position of reaping sizable profits by attempting to clean up rivers and lakes (at public expense) which they have profitably polluted in the first place. To facilitate this, practically every major chemical company in the U.S. has established a pollution abatement division or is in the process of doing so. Dow Chemical, for example, produces a wide variety of products and services for water pollution abatement, including measuring instruments, specialty treatment chemicals, and a special biological filter medium called SURF-PAC. The company designs, engineers, builds and services waste water treatment plants and is currently supervising municipal sewage plants in Cleveland and working on waste disposal problems for lumber companies in Pensacola, Florida, and West Nyack, New York. All of these projects are funded by the Federal Water Pollution Control Administration (FWPCA).

Thus, the chemical industry—which ranks second in production of polluted waste water and generates close to 50 per cent of the biological oxygen demand in industrial water before treatment—has, at the same time, established a dominant position in the water pollution control business.

A second consequence of placing the "control" of pollution in the hands of big business is that the official abatement levels will inevitably be set low enough to protect industry's power to pollute and therefore its ability to keep costs down and revenues high. According to a recent study by the FWPCA, if the chemical industry were to reduce its pollution of water to zero, the costs involved would amount to almost $2.7 billion per year. This would cut profits almost by half.

Fortunately for the chemical industry, the present abatement target is only 75 per cent reduction in water pollution through "secondary treatment" methods which will clean up the solids but leave the phosphates, nitrogen compounds and a host of other poisonous substances which secondary treatment can't possibly catch.

Of course, it is precisely the profit incentive as the criterion of what shall and shall not be produced that makes it impossible to stop the proliferation and profusion of poisons in even the most obvious places. Thus, the chemical industry has polluted the housewife's food package not only through the unintended absorption of pesticide residues, but also through innumerable colorings, additives (like the cyclamates) and preservatives designed to increase food purchases and consumption, in order to buoy up sagging sales curves. The package itself, which is a sales boosting device par excellence, can be both the most polluting and dangerous feature of all. As a piece de résistance the chemical industry produces the non-biodegradable plastic container, which comes in all sizes, shapes and colors, and, if made from polyvinyl plastic, like Dow's Saran-Wrap, can be deadly in the most literal sense of the word. When Saran-Wrap is accumulated as trash and burned, it produces phosgene gas—a poison gas used in World War I and currently stockpiled by the Department of Defense. Exposure for only a short duration to 50 parts of phosgene per million parts of air will cause death. The chemical industry currently makes approximately five billion pounds of polyvinyl plastic per year and output is expected to rise by seven per cent this year alone.

Another consequence of business control of cleaning up the environment is cost to the public. Most municipal water treatment plants in large urban areas are currently constructed to handle an excess capacity frequently 100 per cent greater than the volume of waste actually produced by their resident populations. Much of this surplus capacity is used by big business (especially the chemical industry) to dispose of its wastes. Although industries are charged for this use, it is the consumers and taxpayers, through federal grants and state bonds, who bear the cost of construction and maintenance of the treatment facilities. Thus the public pays the polluters to construct the treatment facilities necessitated by the polluters in the first place.

Thus pollution control, developed as a complementary industry, is a way to insure that the favorable balance between cost, sales and profits can be maintained and business can continue as usual—indeed, better than usual, for pollution control means new investment outlets, new income and new profits; the more waste, the better. Pollution control as conceived by the pollution control industry is merely an extension of the same pattern of profit-seeking exploitation and market economics which is at the root of the environmental crisis itself.

[III]

THE MOST SALIENT FACT ABOUT the crisis that now threatens to overwhelm us is that it is first and foremost a product of the so-called free-enterprise system. "American business," as Fortune admits, "since it organizes and channels a high proportion of the total action of this society, has been and still is deeply implicated in depredations against the environment." It is not technology per se, but the way technology is employed (its organization and

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channeling) that creates the problems. Take, for example, the automobile. What logic determined man's use, as his central mode of transportation, of a device which threw concrete highways across the plains, cut up the forests, poisoned the atmosphere, congested the cities and created the sprawling conurbations that have smothered the land? Was it safe? Computed as fatalities per mile, the death rate for cars is 25 times that for trains and 10 times that for planes. Was it efficient? A traffic study made in 1907 shows that horse-drawn vehicles in New York moved at an average speed of 11.5 miles per hour. Today, automobiles crawl at the average daytime rate of six miles per hour.

At the beginning of the '60's it was estimated that in a single day, motor vehicles burned about seven million gallons of gasoline and in the process produced enough carbon monoxide to pollute the air to a depth of 400 feet over an area of 681 square miles. One-third of the entire land area of Los Angeles (two-thirds of the downtown section) had been absorbed by cars and trucks and the facilities to service them. The area was so congested that plans were laid to spend another $7.5 billion over the next decade on highway construction. The highway program would cost $10,000 per family, while during the same period only $3090 per family would be spent in Los Angeles County for schools, hospitals, parks, water supply, recreation and all other facilities. And Los Angeles is no worse in this respect than other city or urban areas. New York is now spending $100 million per mile to construct a cross-town highway. But in the peak hours, 87.6 per cent of the people entering the central business district come by public transport (71 per cent by subway).

Is there any rationality in all this? There is. But it is a private rationality. The essence of the private property system is that social technology and production are privately or corporately organized and channeled through the market. Thus, in launching his new product, Henry Ford had only private costs to reckon (i.e., the costs to him in labor, materials, etc.). The individual consumer who bought the car had only to reckon his personal preferences versus the purchase price. The question of who would pay the costs of roads, of restructuring cities and organizing the flow of traffic, was taken care of by Ford, the rubber industry, the glass industry, the concrete industry and related interests getting together and twisting the arm of the government. They saw to it that the public would pay for solving the problems created by the new machine.

The costs of pollution are borne by our lungs and in individual cleaning bills; the costs of lack of safety are paid in individual hospital bills and individual deaths. Suppose Ford had been forced from the outset to reckon the social costs (at least the ones that could be quantified) and to put that in the price of his autos. At that price, people would have bought trains as their mass transportation, or more reasonably, they would have been forced to structure their cities and communities in a way which would have enabled them to walk to virtually all of the places necessary.

The problems created by the market system are thus like original sin: their implications keep spreading and diversifying. Now, when the demand for cars shows signs of being saturated, the market strategists get to work and—by changing models, manipulating consumers and planning the obsolescence of their product—generate the need for more and more cars, ad infinitum. The waste in resources is staggering (it has been estimated that style changes in autos alone cost $4 billion annually) and the increase in pollution incalculable.

THE POLLUTION CONTROL INDUSTRY itself reflects this irrationality in production for profit. It, too, is a growth industry. It, too, depends for its existence on society's capacity to make waste. The production of steel, copper, aluminum, asbestos and beryllium components for air pollution systems and sewage plants will probably create more air pollution and kill more rivers. The waste involved in the production of all the specialty chemicals and biological agents needed for water treatment alone is staggering. Moreover, the waste in resources required to operate $100 billion worth of control systems will certainly not reduce the despoliation of the environment.

Instead of reorganizing the productive system for social ends, thereby eliminating the problem of waste production and distribution at its source, pollution control under business auspices amounts to no more than rationalizing and improving waste production by making it less ugly, less harmful, less objectionable, and more pleasant for everybody. The object of this kind of pollution control is to make pollution "functional" in society, to institutionalize it, to change it into a necessary and regular part of the everyday world. There is no more effective way to do that than to make it possible for a whole industry to make money out of it. To the military-industrial complex, we can now add an eco-pollution-industrial complex, with a vested interest in continuing economic growth and environmental malaise.

The philosophical justifications for this "solution" are already well developed. As President Nixon's science adviser, Dr. Lee A. DuBridge, puts it, "Let's face it—waste products are a fact of life we have to recognize. . . . Clearly, the U.S. will be producing more waste in the future—not less." The purpose of pollution control, DuBridge explains, is simply to "determine reasonable levels of pollution consistent with good health." Such a logic simultaneously justifies the political economy of waste, effectively de-politicizes the issues of the environment, and defines the problem of pollution in terms of technological solutions and bureaucratic directives. As such it is the normal logic of a society whose business, as Coolidge once said, is business.

FOLLOWING EVERY FAILURE OF the business system in a major social area, the government has stepped in to create a new social-industrial complex, passing the costs of rehabilitation and correction on to the tax-paying public, and reserving the benefits for the corporations. Like the defense suppliers and the educational-manpower conglomerates, the pollution control industry now enjoys the good fortune of being legislated into success. Lavish profits will come from ready-made markets bolstered by special laws controlling pollution levels of factories, special tax write-offs for the industrial buyers of abatement equipment, and plenty of R&D money for the pollution controllers themselves. As government outlays on abatement grow, so will the profits accruing to the pollution control industry. With Uncle Sam posing as Mr. Clean, the crisis of the environment can't help being profitable.

At the National Executives Conference on Water Pollution Abatement, convened last fall by the Department of Interior

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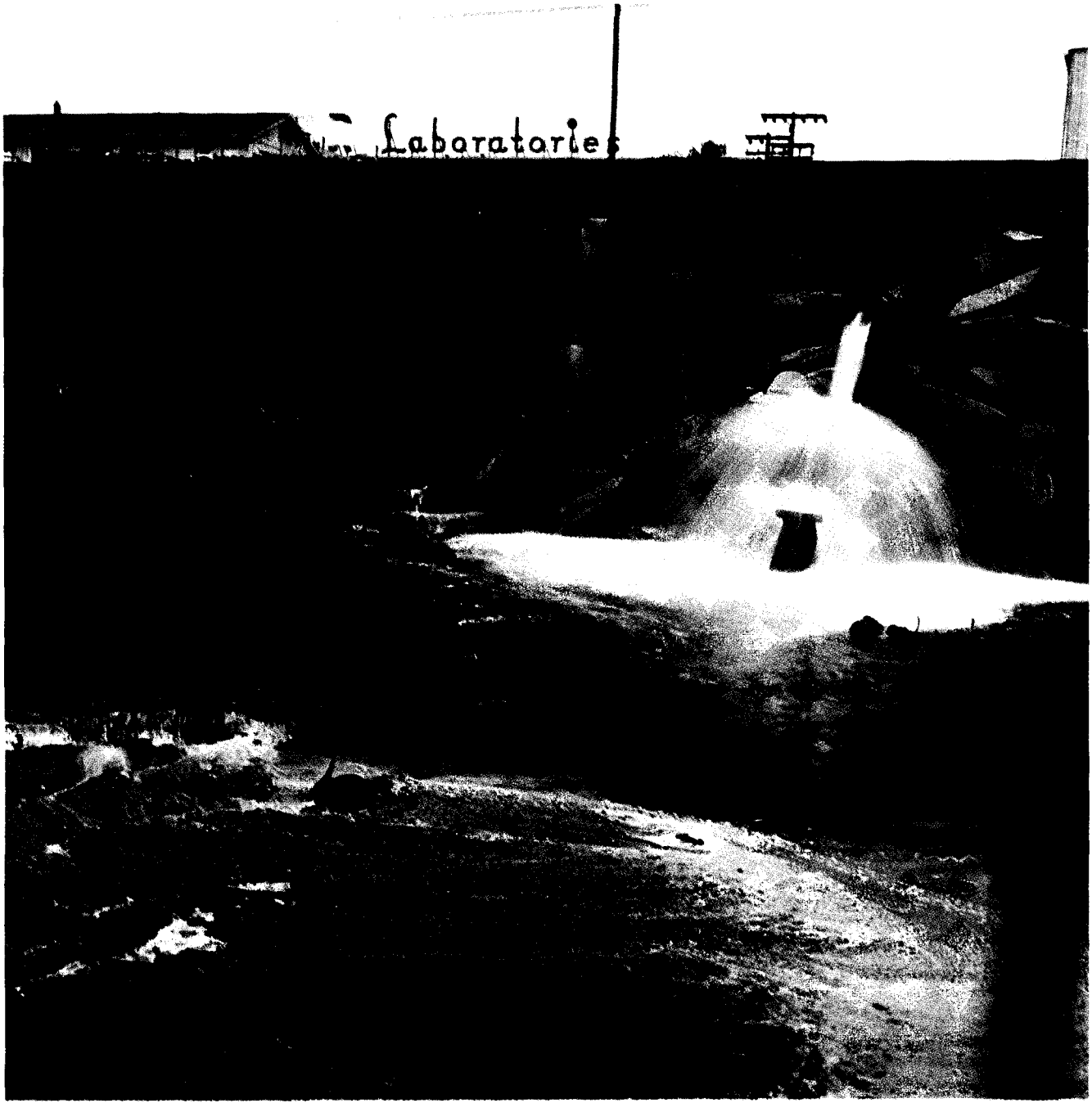

in order to "bring the environmental programs of business and government into close alignment," John Gillis, president of Monsanto Chemical Co., led the business executives in calling for immediate federal financial aid in the form of quick tax write-offs and investment credits. The Tax Reform Bill passed by Congress early this winter answered the call. While abolishing the seven per cent investment credit, Congress instituted a special five-year amortization allowance for pollution control equipment, which will actually allow a lot of corporations somewhat larger tax deductions than did the investment credit. In addition, some 22 states also offer such subsidies for installation of pollution control equipment. California, for example, provides for a special five-year write-off, while Connecticut gives anti-polluters a five per cent tax credit.

With the prospects of rising R&D expenditures by the federal government, everyone is getting into the act. Anaconda and Alcoa have recently established environmental divisions. Esso Research has started a five-year planning study to determine the National Air Pollution Control Administration (NAPCA) needs in the area of nitrogen oxide emission control. The presence of aerospace corporations and other major defense contractors like Dow, G.E. and Westinghouse on the federal pollution control payroll is of course more than mere coincidence. Currently, the aerospace industry receives about 25 per cent of all the research contracts awarded by NAPCA. Aerojet-General, Avco Industries, Bendix Corporation and Litton Industries are some of the more prominent newcomers to the field. For Litton, Bendix and Aerojet-General, pollution control is a spin-off from their government-sponsored

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programs for development of biological weapons. Aerojet-General has also received over a million dollars in contracts from the Federal Water Pollution Control Administration for control of toxic agents in water supplies.

After riot control, pollution control is another area in which North American Rockwell, builder of Apollo and one of the country's biggest defense contractors, expects to make "important social contributions as well as profits," according to Robert T. Chambers, chairman of Envirotech, which is NAR's new pollution abatement subsidiary. Envirotech will market some of the measuring devices which NAR has developed through work for FWPCA, NAPCA, the Defense Department's chemical and biological warfare programs, and the space program. Just to keep it all in the family, President Nixon is reportedly planning to place the coordination of pollution control R&D programs under the aegis of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration instead of setting up a special agency for this purpose.

Nixon is also arranging to whip up a little business for investment bankers. As a part of Nixon's $10 billion program for municipal sewage plant construction, state and local governments will finance their $6 billion share of the deal through tax-exempt bonds. The President will also establish an Environmental Funding Authority to buy up any of the bonds which the locals can't sell. The EFA will probably handle a good number of them, since the municipal and state government bond markets are currently glutted. Its own funds would come from the sale of bonds at the even higher non-municipal rates. The Treasury Department (headed by banker David Kennedy) would make up the difference between the interest the EFA would receive on local bonds and what it would have to pay out on its own. In other words, the taxpayers would once again pay the bill.

Thus, pollution control programs illustrate the ways in which government promotes the welfare of business at the expense of the taxpaying public. The non-taxpaying poor will also suffer. It's all a matter of priorities. More federal spending for pollution control will mean less for the war on poverty. "Ultimately," pontificates the Wall Street Journal, "preservation of the environment may have to take absolute priority over social stability and welfare."

THE CRISIS OF THE ENVIRONMENT must be viewed in terms of a paradox central to modern society. The mobilization of the productive energies of society and the physical forces of nature for the purpose of accumulating profits or enhancing private power and privilege now conflicts directly with the universal dependence of men upon nature for the means of their common survival. A society whose principal ends and incentives are monetary and expansionist inevitably produces material and cultural impoverishment—in part precisely because of the abundance of profitable goods. To make an industry out of cleaning up the mess that industry itself makes is a logical extension of corporate capitalism. What is needed, however, is not an extension of what is already bad, but its transformation into something better.

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Photographs by Elihu Blotnick

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Para-Real Estate:

The Handing Out of Resources

PRESIDENT NIXON'S MINI-WAR on pollution is directed from the Department of the Interior where it has the primary function of serving as a public relations screen for Interior's more serious interests. Traditionally the ally of and lobbyist for the "oil and gas gang," Interior has always been the mediator between the industrialists and the White House. Although it is officially a "conservationist" agency, the Department is much busier in its role as a brokerage handing out contracts to competing interests. Overseeing 500 million acres of public land, as well as 1.2 million square miles of territory on the outer continental shelf, Interior is the biggest real estate agency in the world. The way it plays the real estate game shows what presidents mean when they refer to conservation.

[SELLING OFF THE SHELF]

LAST YEAR INTERIOR'S income was about $1 billion, most of it consisting of royalties from oil and gas leases on the outer continental shelf (OCS). The government has claimed control of the OCS since 1953, and while some states are challenging federal jurisdiction, the government nonetheless manages the development of this territory. The OCS begins in coastal waters at the point where state control officially stops—usually the three-mile limit—and runs from there to the point where it gradually slopes down to the ocean's depths (a distance varying between 15 and several hundred miles).

In the last few years various coastal nations have begun exploring their shelf territory with an eye to developing oil and gas resources. This has meant a boom for the oil industry, and the big companies (seven of them dominate 70 per cent of the world's oil business) have glutted world markets with the enormous new supplies. Of course, this oil glut is not felt within the United States, for the oil import quota program has the effect of insulating this country from world markets, keeping foreign oil out and driving prices for domestic oil to artificially high levels.

With this protection, and with the plentiful supply of domestic oil, there is no need to drill on the U.S. outer continental shelf. Fossil fuels are plentiful in Alaska, Canada, Venezuela and the Middle East, and there is enough oil to meet

by James Ridgeway

Illustrations by Clay

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U.S. demands for 400 years in oil shale in the Rocky Mountains. Despite this, the big oil companies, anxious to maintain their artificially protected position in the American market, insisted on developing the OCS, and in response to their demands the Interior Department has found it expedient to lease out about one per cent of it. Most of the leases are off Texas and Louisiana, along with a small portion off Santa Barbara, where the disastrous spill took place last year and where seepage continues.

The Department of Interior has limitless faith in industry. Not only does the Department issue leases for unnecessary new oil drilling, it also permits that drilling to take place in locations it knows virtually nothing about. Oil companies are routinely granted exploration permits by the U.S. Geological Survey, the agency of Interior which has charge of technical and scientific aspects of drilling. If a company discovers oil and wants to start production, it simply asks Interior to place the desired land up for lease, and the request is usually complied with as part of department routine. Nor does the U.S. Geological Survey investigate the proposed lease area to see exactly what it is giving away. Rather, it depends on information submitted to it by the oil company. Since it has not developed any data on its own, the government does not know how much oil or gas is likely to be in the area, and hence it is not in any position to know how much money it should receive. The companies pay pretty much what they want, often without engaging in competitive bids. Citizens who wish to inquire into the possible dangers from drilling operations by examining the Geological Survey data are prevented from doing so because the information that is supplied to the government by the companies is deemed "private property" and is kept secret. (In Santa Barbara this neat mutual protection arrangement led to the ludicrous situation wherein citizens were refused access to the Geological Survey's data on the Santa Barbara Channel even though Union Oil itself had given clearance for the public release of the data.)

During Stewart Udall's tenure as Secretary of Interior there was a move to begin the Department's own drilling program in an effort to get information. The U.S. Geological Survey fought off this idea, however, and when Udall met a stony response at the Budget Bureau and received a warning from the appropriations committees, he dropped the plan. Thus, operating through their allies at the Geological Survey, the oil men decide what parts of the outer continental shelf they would like, determine the price, and then take the area. It is part of the last, continuing land grab.

[SANTA BARBARA: ECOLOGY AND WAR]

IN 1967 AND 1968, INTERIOR was under especially heavy pressure to lease the shelf because President Johnson wanted it to seem as if there were a budget surplus even while he was pouring money into the quagmire of Vietnam. The idea was to hike revenues by leasing more of the shelf, and LBJ convinced the Budget Bureau to lean on Udall to speed up the process. The Santa Barbara lease was granted in part because of this pressure. The people at Interior, however, knew all about the earthquakes and faults around Santa Barbara. Udall himself said, "This particular

portion of the continental shelf has been under intensive geologic investigation for several years. Undoubtedly more was known about it and in greater detail than any other area of comparable size along our entire coastline." In November 1967, the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers took testimony from Santa Barbara citizens who were against allowing Phillips Petroleum to construct a rig because of the dangers from possible quakes. At the time, Colonel Norman E. Pehrson, the hearing officer for the Corps, dismissed the citizens' objections because he claimed the Corps had authority only over navigation under the Rivers and Harbors Act of 1899, and dared not become involved in other things. Pehrson passed the buck to the Geological Survey, which apparently was determined to grant the leases under any circumstances.

Meanwhile, Udall was under pressure from the Western Gas and Oil Association, which claimed its members had spent $100 million in exploring the Santa Barbara channel and must have the leases. Udall depended for his technical advice on William T. Pecora, the head of the Geological Survey, and according to Udall's associates at the time, the Secretary got one assurance after another from Pecora that everything would work out. After the spill, however, Pecora declared, "Without any question of doubt we did not have as much information on the detailed reservoir conditions as existed in the oil company files."

But most of all, Udall was getting heat from the Budget Bureau. In July 1967, while Interior Department officials were negotiating with Santa Barbara about the leasing program, Phillip S. Hughes, Deputy Director of the Budget, put it on the line to then Undersecretary of Interior Charles Luce: "As you know," Hughes wrote, "we are particularly interested in the Presidential decision to generate additional revenues

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from the leasing of the nation's mineral resources. We are convinced that improved efficiency of federal OCS policy, procedures and regulations would lead to lower capital and operating costs for leases. These lower costs would, we believe, be reflected in increased bonuses from OCS lease sales. Recent indications from oil economists, oil companies and in oil trade journals are that economic benefits through improved, more efficient practice would be exceedingly large."

In his reply, Luce (who is now chairman of the board of Con Edison, one of the polluters Interior must deal with) pointed out how leasing the OCS could affect the oil import quotas: "It should be emphasized that increased production on OCS would proportionately increase our revenues only if it did not result in lower domestic oil prices. Thus, to realize proportionately increased revenues it would be necessary to restrict oil imports in approximateliy the same amount as the increased production; or alternatively, the states would have to reduce their allowable reproduction in that amount." Luce added, "If we should decide not to offer any federal lands for leasing off Santa Barbara the decision would be very expensive in terms of immediate revenue to the United States."

A few months later, Udall himself got a pretty blunt note from Charles Schultze, director of the Budget Bureau: "As you know, the President has on several recent occasions instructed us to make every attempt to produce additional revenues from federal resources. Last fall after a successful sale off the Gulf Coast, he specifically asked me what might be done to increase revenue from off-shore leasing." In response, Udall went ahead and issued the leases. On February 6, 1968, the oil companies paid cash bonuses of $602 million for leaseholds off Santa Barbara.

Thus, Interior brokered LBJ's deal, in which the President traded the Santa Barbara channel to the oil companies for $602 million, which went into the Vietnam war chest. The episode is a lesson for those who insist that ecology is separate from other political issues. But besides helping to finance the war, the sell-off of Santa Barbara was helping certain segments of the economy: the leases of the OCS helped involve the government as an active partisan of the oil quota system. If the quota system were abandoned, U.S. domestic oil prices would probably drop in the face of a flood from abroad and hence royalties from the OCS would be diminished. It would be hard for the government to argue convincingly for dropping the quota (despite the obvious benefits of that move to other segments of the economy—especially consumers), since an increasingly large chunk of its annual revenues comes from royalties on domestic oil.

There is another twist to the OCS leasing that highlights the irony of having Interior involved up to its neck in the real estate business at the same time it is supposedly practicing "conservation." Some of the OCS royalty money goes into the Land and Water Conservation Fund. This fund, established in 1965, is used by the Interior Department to purchase lands for national parks and other preserves. In 1968, conservationists worked hard to push through amendments to the fund legislation which would increase it to $200 million a year. (Until then, $100 million came from revenues received from fees paid by tourists to parks, monuments, etc.; a motorboat fuel tax; and proceeds from the sale of surplus lands.) The Congress agreed to double the fund to $200 million a year, stipulating that additional funds were to come from revenues received from leases to the outer continental shelf. Thus, money received from the Santa Barbara leases goes to help save the Indiana Dunes, to preserve parts of the Atlantic coast near Chesapeake Bay, and to buy more land for the Point Reyes park north of San Francisco. Conservationists were caught in a cobweb of illogic: by plundering some land, you save and reclaim others.

The amendment to the Land and Water Conservation Fund is a shrewd piece of goods, promoted in large part by Senator Jackson of Washington. It illustrates a continuing theme at Interior. Conservation proceeds apace with exploitation; the conservationists themselves become an essential part of the process of ruining the land and water. It is Interior's version of an ecosystem.

[SUBSDIZED STRIP MINES]

THERE ARE OTHER ways in which the Interior Department's real estate game promotes the interests of industry, thus failing in its role as trustee for public lands. Under the Mining Law of 1872, for instance, anyone may enter federal lands (except national parks and other areas specifically closed by law) to look for minerals. (The law pertains basically to metals: iron, copper, lead, uranium, etc. Coal, gas, oil, phosphates and sulphur are covered by a separate leasing law.) An individual may stake out a claim of 20 acres or, if he joins with other people, a claim of 160 acres. Although the land is federal, the government has no knowledge of a claim being filed because the claim is filed with the county. So long as the individual (or company) searches for minerals, the land is his; if he discovers minerals, he can file for a patent to the claim. On paying a fee of $2.50 per acre for a placer claim or $5 per acre for a lode claim, the prospector receives from the government full title to the land, including title to the surface resources, which often include valuable timber.

The fees these interests are paying today were established in 1872, almost a hundred years ago. But even worse than the monetary swindle is the fact that the environment is left vulnerable. There are no rules governing how a miner goes about his business; in exploring his claim, a prospector may cut a road through timber, bulldoze, dredge, or strip the land at will. In fact, in some of the western states prospectors are encouraged to gouge the ground because state laws require that they dig a pit and engage in the charade of erecting a works of sorts on each claim as proof that they really are working it.

The 1872 law has resulted in some pretty destructive operations. In Wyoming, for example, mining companies bulldoze or plough big strips of land in search for jade. After destroying a piece of acreage in the hopes that a jade boulder will turn up, they move on to a fresh piece of land, leaving the mess behind. In Arizona, where half the U.S. supply of copper is produced, big open pit mines outside of Tucson use so much water that the groundtable has dropped, threatening the city with drought. Great cliffs of mine wastes, called "tailings," are often built up around the mines, and as the wind blows the waste into neighboring towns, severe air pollution problems ensue. (The uranium companies, for instance, have left radioactive uranium tailings along the Colorado River, where they can endanger the water supply.)

In the last days of his tenure at Interior, Secretary Udall

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urged the Mining Act be changed so that minerals covered under the Act would be switched to the lease basis on which oil companies proceeded. But Secretary Hickel is supporting the 1872 Act, despite the overwhelming evidence that it leads to environmental devastation. In a letter to the Public Land Law Review Commission (which is trying to determine policy towards public lands), Hickel said blandly, "It [the mining law] is not the villain that it is so frequently portrayed. Perhaps the most important function this law performs is the stimulation of individual incentive to seek out and develop valuable minerals which are essential to the continued growth and prosperity of this nation." Hickel goes on to explain what he means: "Most criticism of the mining law has centered on its failure to provide sufficient protection for ecological factors and on the fact that the federal government receives no direct compensation for minerals discovered and taken. It is my view that answers to the valid objections can be found, that all the varying interests can be reconciled and that we can devise a workable revision of the mining law of 1872 which will enable it to meet our present and future needs. This can be accomplished without sacrificing the best qualities of the old law while still insuring appropriate consideration for necessary conservation and multiple use management."

Nixon did not even mention the mining law in his pitch to the Congress on conservation. It still remains in force, providing a free hand-out of land to the big mining interests together with a license to destroy.

[DISAPPEARING LANDS]

EACH YEAR THE SECRETARY of Interior rents 100 million acres of public rangelands to ranchers for grazing their herds of cattle. The cattlemen now pay 44 cents per animal-unit-month (44 cents a month for each animal). The price is very cheap, since privately owned grass costs as much as $3.50 or $4 per animal-unit-month. Nor can this give-away be understood as a way of subsidizing the small rancher: it doesn't work out that way. Much of the federal rangeland is taken over by big cattlemen, and they lobby vigorously to keep the price of the range grass low. Before he quit, Udall announced a program for slowly increasing the rents on the range. But under pressure from the cattlemen's association, Hickel refused to put this year's rent hike into effect, thereby negating Udall's scheme.

The government sets aside some of its revenues from renting rangeland for reseeding it. But the range has been going downhill since World War I. According to the Interior Department's own estimates, some 30 per cent—or 50 million acres of the range—is in bad shape. By refusing to raise the range rent, Hickel may be pleasing the large cattle interests, but he is also ensuring that there will not be enough money in the range improvement fund to reseed the worn-down grass. According to estimates by Montana Senator Lee Metcalf, Hickel will be foregoing treatment on some 150,000 acres annually, thereby setting himself in league with the forces of erosion.

In this way Interior, with a little help from its friends in the Agriculture Department, works as broker for the mining, timber and cattle business. Conservation is a by-product of the exploitation of land and water. The conservationists themselves act as public relations squads for the big oil, gas and mining interests.

IN THE MID-1960'S, UDALL set out to change the Interior Department by taking over the water pollution program, then controlled by the Public Health Service within HEW. Udall and his associates felt the Interior Department had become too much a western operation. They felt that there was more of a political future for it and for them by hooking the Department into the east and particularly into big city politics, and they saw water pollution as the urban-oriented issue that would give the department the necessary lever in the east. Once he had captured control of water pollution, Udall thought he might go back and get the air pollution programs as well. The Secretary got Johnson's approval for this move, and he won over Senator Muskie and Representative Blatnik, heads of the subcommittees on pollution in the respective Public Works Committees. Neither Muskie nor Blatnik cared much for the idea, but Udall and Johnson wanted to make the shift and the congressmen finally agreed.

The water pollution program is budgeted at about $1 billion a year, which doubles the budget of the Interior Department—and hence its power. Once he controlled water pollution (having pledged to spend one-third of his time administering that program), Udall disappeared from view, and the program, which had been run badly at HEW, began to come apart at the seams in Interior, where it is today a disaster.

Udall took charge of pollution soon after the Congress had passed a law requiring all states to adopt water quality standards. The water quality standards amendments were passed in 1965 and standards were supposed to have been submitted by the states to the government for approval by June 30, 1967. However, by January 1, 1970, the government had approved complete sets of standards for only four states—Arizona, Minnesota, Nebraska and Utah—and two territories—the Virgin Islands and Guam. (This is an embarrassing situation and since January there has been a press on at Interior to get the standards through.) Even where states have nearly complete standards, the date of actual implementation may be some time far in the future.

At any rate, shortly after he took charge of the program Udall was caught in the bizarre position of approving water quality standards which actually were *lower* than existing standards for water in certain states. This led to a row within the Department over whether to push for tough standards or to give the industrial polluters a chance to remedy the situation. Udall found it expedient to line up with those who favored the tough standards, and he asked all the states to sign a "non-degradation clause," pledging not to lower existing water quality. The non-degradation clause irritated officials in many states, and over half of them have yet to sign it. Actually, the clause—like many other "tough" conservation measures at the Interior Department—is riddled with loop-holes. A measure of its potential meaninglessness is seen in its declaration that existing standards cannot be lowered unless "such change is justifiable as a result of necessary economic and social development."

The idea behind Interior's pollution laws is for the government to call together the offending parties—usually state agencies, municipalities and industries—at coffee klatches around the country, and to intimidate them into building sewers. To help them build the sewers, there are sewer grants. But since the Vietnam war, the money for sewer grants has

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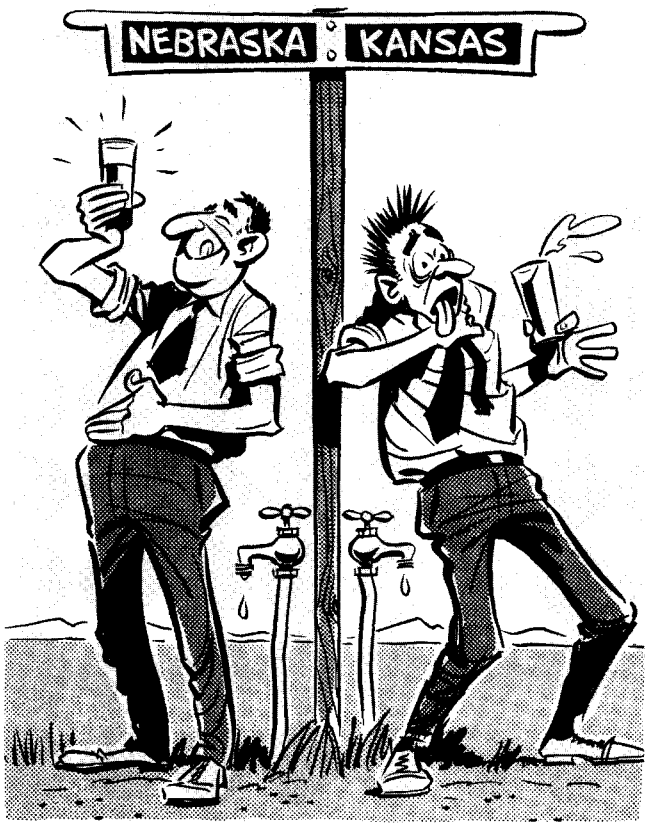

dried up, and thus, in effect, the pollution program has been a dead operation since the mid-1960's.

Things were bad enough under the reign of "conservationist" Udall. But under Hickel and Nixon, water pollution control has been further weakened. The Interior Department is now refusing to make inventories of industrial wastes which would enable the government to take intelligent measures to correct industrial pollution. Even minimal, stop-gap measures are not supported. Secretary of HEW Finch, for instance, has testified against a research bill aimed at developing schemes for recycling solid wastes. As his push to the ecology bandwagon, the President says that he wants to spend $10 billion over five years to combat pollution. But after stripping off the encrustations of rhetoric and figuring the arithmetic, one finds he actually is talking about kicking in $40 million a year and putting the bulk of the costs not on his allies in industry, who are the main polluters, but on the general citizenry. It's the same old deal: the general taxpayers will foot the bill to clean up the mess made by industry's profit-taking.

Most important, Nixon had adopted as policy "the open sewer plan" for waterways. Under this plan, also known as the "dilution" or "assimilation" plan, every waterway can carry a certain amount of sewage filth. You build a mathematical model of the waterway, and then you figure out how much filth it can tolerate. Next you allot each polluter his proportionate percentage of filth, which he then dumps in without any qualms. As a conclusion to this Kafkaesque exercise, the people who will be on those boards which decide how much filth the river or lake can tolerate will be the polluters and the state and local agencies. It is admittedly mind-boggling. If the open sewer theory seems beyond logic, that is part of the general idea.

FOR NIXON, AS FOR JOHNSON before him, conservation functions as the facade behind which environmental pollution is formalized and made part of a society which has come to depend on environmental pollution. The idea of a river as an open sewer is not especially attractive; but when mathematicians, economists and various other experts get to work on it, with their mathematical models and other "problem-solving" tools, things start happening fast, as they invariably do when modern technology takes a hand. The river is no longer referred to as an "open sewer." Instead scientists talk about the "assimilative capacity" of the waterway under a "new long-range comprehensive regional plan" which takes into account all aspects of the "watershed" and allows for "abatement" through use of a "multifaceted approach." Thus, pollution quickly and easily turns into "pollution control."

Aside from this Orwellian abuse of language, the conservation facade also conceals the battle among giant corporations for control of the energy resources. In that endeavor, Interior serves as a commissioned broker, opening the outer continental shelf for oil exploration and soothing the citizens of Santa Barbara when there is an oil spill by telling them all about new safety regulations, modern valves for oil rigs, and so on, while the drilling and spills continue. Under the new "more flexible" mining policies of Interior, the Department makes sure the big mining combines get what they want in the mountain states. There is something for everybody.

Meanwhile, as the public clamor mounts over ecology, Nixon quietly and methodically is purging the Interior Department and other conservation agencies of those civil servants who fought to preserve the land and water. One day the man who stood against the mining industry in behalf of stiffer safety laws is sacked; the next day, a regional director of the water pollution administration who attacked industrial pollution is transferred out of his job under a new "rotation" scheme, and so on.

The conclusions to which this orgy of brokerage leads are not pleasant. And in the end, environmental pollution is unavoidable in a society where business depends on a steadily increasing demand for consumer goods. Conservation, according to the government's concept of the idea, becomes a program for organizing the white, suburban middle class, much in the same way as "consumer protection" has organized them. Consumer concern gets people interested in the machinations of big business and makes it all seem more real and bearable. Like "consumer protection," the new conservation is unraveling into a fake ideology, consciously developed for and by liberal-minded people who have made a pretty good life for themselves by, among other things, exploiting the land and water. They hanker for reform, dream of a better life, and don't want industry to mess about too close to where they live. In all likelihood, serious "conservation" begins for them with the appearance of multitudes of the lower classes on their beaches; that's when they become aware of "our imperiled environment" and the need for population control.

James Ridgeway is an editor of Hard Times, and author of Closed Corporation: American Universities in Crisis *(Ballantine, 1969, $.95). He is currently writing a book on the politics of ecology, to be published by Dutton.*

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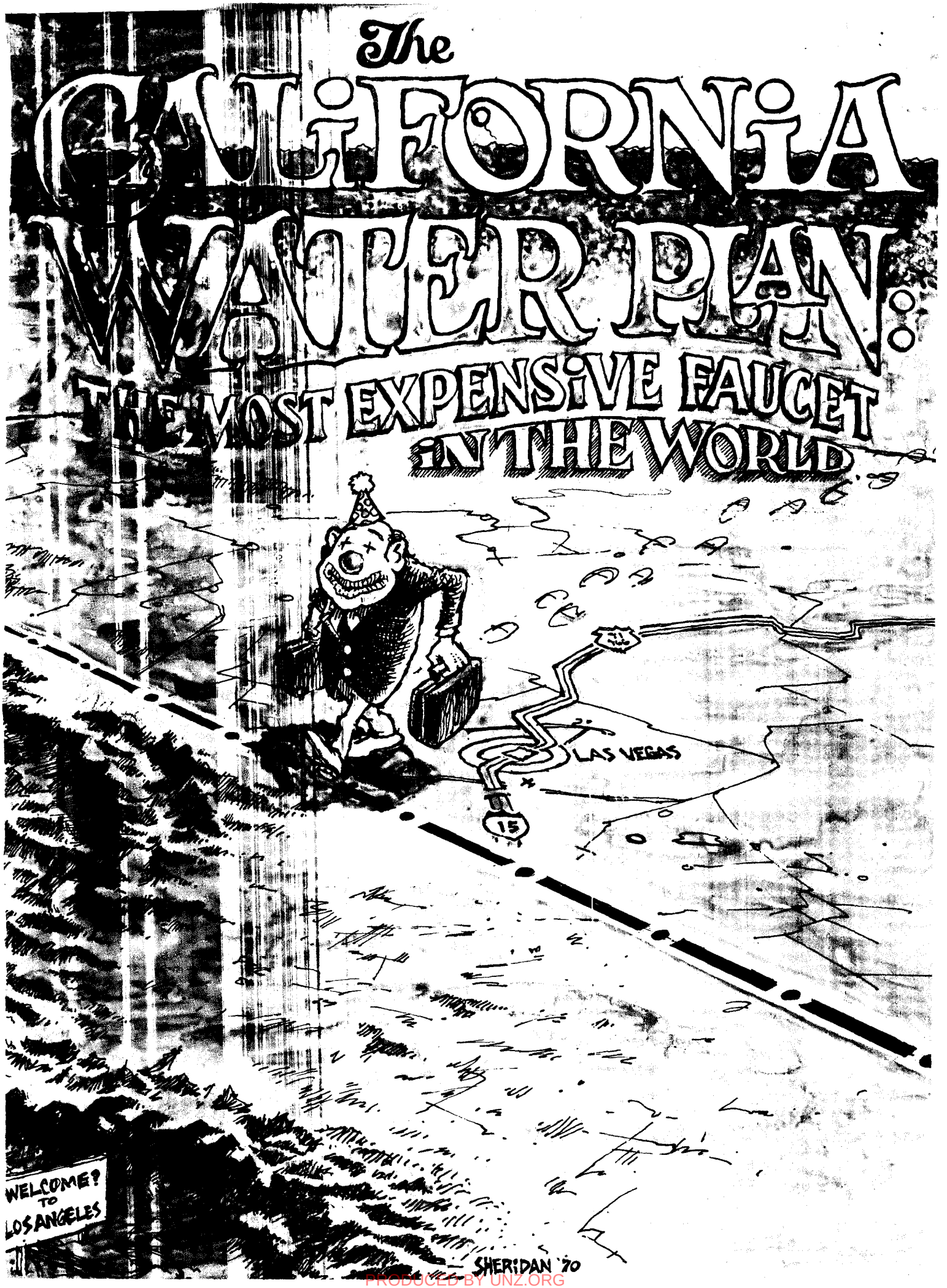

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A Short History of the California Water Plan As It Relates to the Questions of Ecology, Waterlords and the Creation of Deserts

by Gene Marine

ONE OF THE MOST STRIKING things about the ecology bandwagon is that it is becoming badly overpopulated with politicians who a year ago wouldn't have known a food chain from a string of supermarkets. Ecology is, these people assure us, a "safe" issue, best discussed in tones of restrained alarm and good also for distracting the gullible young from the war in Vietnam.

This just goes to show how little politicians understand the implications of what they've gotten themselves involved in. By its own inevitable logic, an ecological conscience must lead to revolutionary conclusions. And these conclusions will surely be hastened by the politicians' own acts. Selling off a whole area's precious water supply to satisfy certain high-rollers who are big in the para-politics of state power is a good example.

Water is neither as clean nor as free as it seems. And when combined with financial power, it becomes a highly volatile substance which does odd things—like flow through the hands of the people into the pockets of a few. In California, water is power. Water is wealth. These are just the most obvious lessons to be learned from the celebrated California Water Plan, which is also a carefully drawn blueprint for ecological disaster.

To understand this disaster, you first have to understand the nature of the ownership of California's major industry—agriculture. When you talk about California agriculture, you're not talking about farmers—at least not the individual, tilling his few hundred acres, normally conjured up by that term. There are those farmers in California—in numbers, a lot of them—and they do dominate a few specialty crops. But real agricultural wealth, which *is* the wealth of the state, lies in the hands of those "farmers" who own most of the land. In California, agriculture is synonymous with corporate empire: 79 per cent of the land is owned by seven per cent of the "farmers."

As agriculture—or agribusiness, if you want to insist on that accurate but repellent word—is the wealth of California, so is it the power. The power structures of New York, Illinois and Pennsylvania are complex. California's is simple—simpler, in fact, than Mississippi's and almost as simple as Honduras'. The people who own the land (not really people, of course: corporations) own the state.

California's aerospace industry, which seems to the casual observer to be extremely important in her economy and therefore in her politics, had prime contracts during the 1968-69 fiscal year (mostly from the Department of Defense and NASA) totaling around $7.5 billion. But by the time California's 200 commercial crops are harvested, transported, processed and packed, their market value is about $16 billion—and almost all that work is done inside the state.

Furthermore, if you search the list of contributors to any major candidate in the state and then run down the occupations of the people whose names you uncover, you'll find only small (and then probably personal) participation by aerospace people. You'll find the "farmers," though, every time—the "farmers" and the oilmen, who are often the same people and who in any case get along together very well. Add in the public utilities and the banks which are intricately tied in with the agricultural giants, and you have the power line-up. And it is these agricultural giants and their allies who, in an effort to control California's water (that precious commodity key to farm wealth) have brought the state to the brink of ecological disaster.

Illustrations by Dave Sheridan

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AS A GLANCE AT ANY California map will show (a relief map makes it even easier), the Sacramento River, flowing from the north, and the San Joaquin River, flowing from the south, come together to form San Francisco Bay and ultimately to reach the ocean (actually, they don't any more, but that's later in the story). Where they come together is called, in California, "the Delta." The two valleys are thus not separated, and together are called simply the Central Valley.

The Sacramento Valley has, and has always had, enough water to handle agriculture on all its available land and more; but vast acres of the San Joaquin Valley were naturally damned to aridity. The availability of water diminishes sharply as you move south past the Delta. In the 1930's, however, the federal government undertook the gigantic Central Valley Project (CVP) to move "surplus" water from the north into the San Joaquin Valley—and precipitated a fight that lasted for decades and whose implications may be felt for centuries.

The CVP was built under the Reclamation Act of 1902, as subsequently amended. The 1862 Homestead Act provided settlers with a quarter section of land—160 acres—and the Reclamation Act provided for irrigation projects which would deliver to each supposedly small farmer enough water for 160 acres. But because of a number of unanticipated circumstances—vast swindles under the Swamp and Overflow Land Act; huge tracts given away by the federal government for railroads to encourage expansion; and a tangled mess of claims to old Mexican land grants—more than half of California's arable land passed into the hands of huge landowners before small farmers had a chance at it. During the Depression, even as CVP construction of dams and canals for the transfer of water was under way, bank foreclosures added other small holdings to the large tracts.

The Central Valley Project, however, will still deliver to any single landowner only enough water for 160 acres (320 acres if the landowner is married—a dubious but generous concession by the Bureau of Reclamation). If you own, say, 100,000 acres, you can get water to irrigate the entire amount *only* if you agree to sell off all the acreage over 160 within ten years.

Now the mightier landowners, all-powerful within California's borders, tried for more than a decade to break the federal government's determination to stick to the 160-acre limitation regarding water rights. Unsuccessful, they did succeed at least in keeping CVP out of the west side of the San Joaquin Valley. These lands still sit aridly awaiting the water that to their owners is gold, and awaiting the day when that water will come without pesky federal regulation.

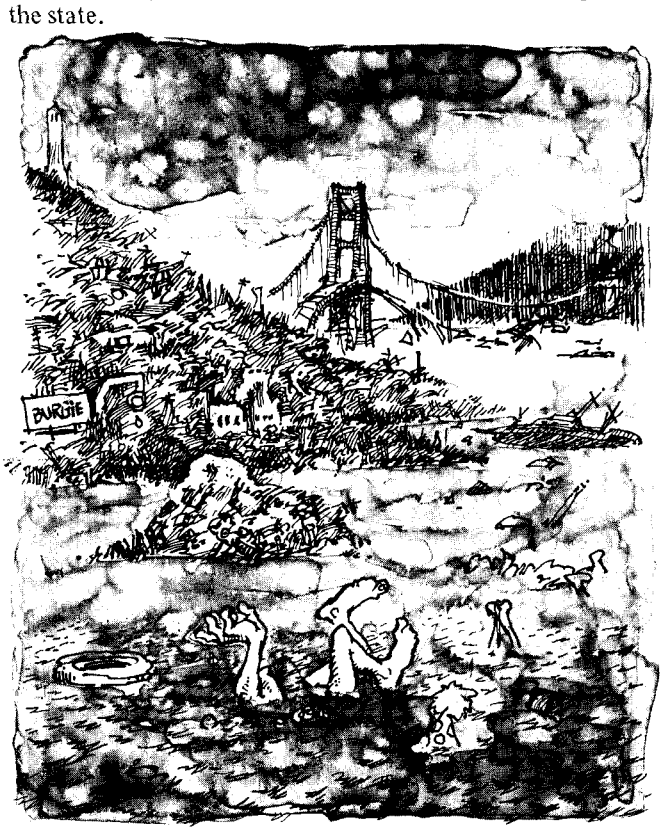
In 1959, when the California Water Plan was placed by legislative decision on the 1960 ballot, these were a few of the west side landowners:

Standard Oil Co. of Calif.	218,000 acres
Other oil companies, combined	264,000 acres
Kern County Land Co.	348,000 acres
Southern Pacific Railroad	200,000 acres
Tejon Ranch Company	348,000 acres
Boston Ranch Company	37,000 acres

And 1,323,000 other acres were in the hands of people who each owned more than 1000 acres. There is oil on some of this land, but it is not as valuable as the crops which, if water were available, could be grown there.

One institution which doesn't appear on the above list but which is indispensable to it is the Bank of America, by deposits the world's largest commercial bank (and itself a large landowner in agricultural California as a whole). The bank finances more than half of all California agriculture. Its former president, Rudolph Peterson, said late in 1968 that the Bank of America was "the world's largest agricultural lender with lines of credit for agricultural production running at about a billion dollars a year." The total commitment of the bank to agriculture is probably more than $3 billion. Rival banks, notably Wells Fargo, have large fingers in the pie, as do other "farmers" like Safeway Stores, Inc., the DiGiorgio Corporation and newcomers like Purex, Dow Chemical and United Fruit. Already for decades the absolute masters of California, these giants were still searching in the late '40's and early '50's, as they are today, for more and greater sources of agricultural wealth. Blocked by the Bureau of Reclamation's 160-acre limitation from any hope of federal subsidy for irrigation of their lands, they first tried unsuccessfully to get the state to finance the entire CVP itself without the federal government, and to give them the water without the 160-acre restriction. But Washington refused to cooperate, and the Big Guys had to look for other tills to tap.

THE CENTRAL VALLEY PROJECT'S principal features were built by the early '50's and no one was in danger of dying of thirst or going out of business. A rational state power structure might have decided that a point of balance had been reached; that they were getting moderately rich in an effortless sort of way and it was time to sit back and consolidate gains. But rationality has never been the strong suit of power structures. And what was good for California was not good—or at least not good enough—for business. The major discontent came from the southern part of the state.



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Southern California hustlers–especially the Los Angeles variety–are a special breed. They have, among other things, perfected the arts of luring people (wealthy people, preferably, although those with retirement savings are also nice) into their part of the state and selling them things (especially real estate). Somebody builds a new apartment house; he gives tenants a month's free rent for moving in; and as soon as it's built and full, he sells it to a little old lady from Iowa. Until this particular con was stopped recently, some couples boasted that they hadn't paid a month's rent in Los Angeles for three years. What you don't do is tell prospective immigrants that Los Angeles sits partly on a thinly covered desert basis, in the shadow of achingly eroded hills that could (and often do) slide down at any minute, bringing their precarious burden of houses with them. You advertise the new suburbs and don't talk about the fact that if there were any reason to live in those locations there probably wouldn't be *new* suburbs there at this late date. Above all, you don't tell them that Los Angeles outran its meager natural water supply more than a half century ago; that the water since stolen from Northern California's Owens Valley and conned from the Colorado (after all these years, Arizona finally won the lawsuit that said California was taking more than its share) is enough today–but won't be if people keep coming in at the rate of 1000 a day. You don't tell them anything. You keep pushing the plastic dream and pitching for more industry and more workers, and you look around for more water to con somebody out of.

That's Southern California today, and that was Southern California in the '40's and in the '50's. Northern Californians, the hustlers noted, had plenty of water. Look at the Feather River–3600 square miles of watershed, an annual average runoff of 4.5 million acre-feet (enough, for instance, to irrigate all the cotton in the state.) But they would never give it to the hustlers down south. Northern Californians were wise to the con.

So the Southern California hustlers chafed, while the Big Guys–most of them northerners–waited with their arid, unproductive land while reaping millions from the land they had in production. But time was on their side.

By 1948 it was clear to the Big Guys that their plan to get the state to take over the Central Valley Project and then drop the 160-acre irrigation limitation had been blocked. And so, in hotel bars and the spacious rooms of private clubs, the lords of the Valley talked with their counterparts in Southern California. They decided that together they could pull it off–with taxpayers' money, of course. You take some of the water, we'll take some. You have a majority of the voters down there and they can be conned into supporting the plan. All we have to do is invent an imminent water shortage and then dash in with a scheme for their salvation.

Then the Big Guys turned to something they've always been good at: word games.

THERE CAME INTO BEING, in 1950 or so, a group called the California Central Valley Flood Control Association (first word game). That group subsidized what looked like a routine flood control investigation by State Water Engineer A. D. Edmonston. His report, however, instead of being a routine report of a routine investigation, was something quite different. Its title (second word game) was *Report on Feasibility of Feather River Project and Sacramento-San Joaquin Delta Diversion Projects Proposed as Features of the California Water Plan.*

The California Water Plan had not yet come into being. But people were talking about *a* California Water Plan, in some circles anyway, and Edmonston and the people behind him wanted to be sure that their projects were in it.

The Feather River part was a fast shuffle. The important part of the plan, as far as its sponsors were concerned, was in the sneaky end of the title: *Sacramento-San Joaquin Delta Diversion Projects.* Water would be taken out of the Delta and sent south to irrigate the Big Guys' valuable lands, thus cutting the costs on the ones already being irrigated and bringing new lands into production.

The Feather River Project was a dam near the city of Oroville built to regulate the flow of that untamed river into an even and manageable year-round supply. The *reason* for the dam–useful as it proved to be, later, for flood control–had *nothing to do with protection for the citizens of Yuba City* and Marysville. The dam was constructed because without it the Federal Bureau of Reclamation might stick its nose into the Delta Diversion Project and say that the water being diverted was Central Valley Project water with its 160-acre limitation.

But the Feather River feeds into the Sacramento *below* the CVP projects in the north. By regulating its flow, the project planners could claim that the water being taken from the Delta is the controlled flow of the Feather (i.e., a *state* project) and that no limitations on its use could apply.

What's that you say? Water is water? Not in California.

Problem: At the Delta, the fresh water from the Central Valley meets the salt water of San Francisco Bay; the meeting place moves back and forth, sometimes well out toward the Bay, sometimes dangerously deep into the agricultural areas

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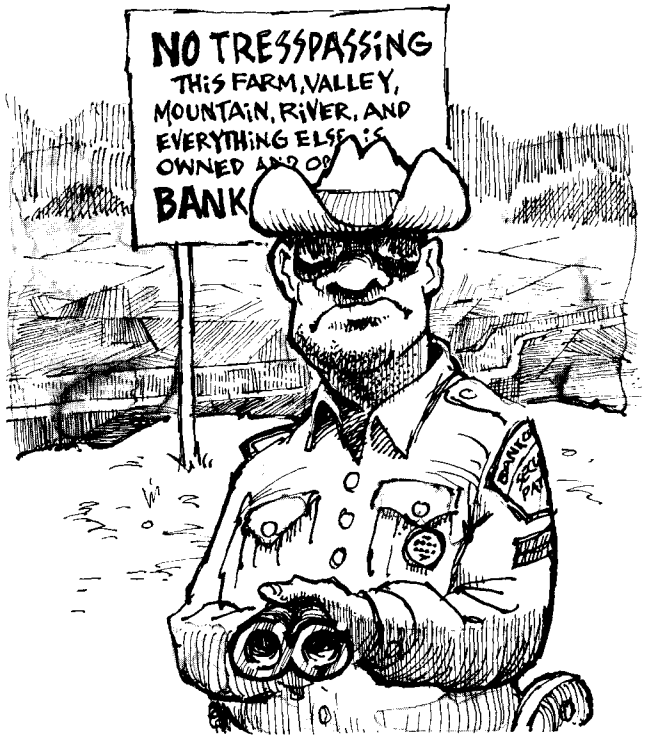
of the Delta itself. A part of CVP is the Delta Cross-Channel Canal, designed to take fresh Sacramento River water across the Delta without allowing it to mix with the Bay's salt water. But this water has the limitation on it.

Solution: Build another canal (the Peripheral Canal) around the Delta to the east. A pumping plant would lift the water and a new canal would take it down the west side of the San Joaquin Valley, virtually creating money as it flows.

It sounds simple. In principle, it is; but in practice it is something else. When Edmonston talked about moving water, he didn't fool around. The proposed Feather River Project (third word game: call the whole thing by that name) was by far the largest movement of water ever suggested. It has since engendered greater proposals (I have heard one for using Yukon River water in Mexico) but at the time it was, to use a once-familiar California word, colossal. The word about Edmonston's report got around, and pretty soon much of California, without quite understanding why, was talking about "the Feather River Project." No doubt the Big Guys, long master-users of publicity, had something to do with turning on the public to the exciting project, and seeing to it that the public saw it as an exciting project. Engineers loved it. Men in the street were impressed by it.

Northern Californians hated it.

THE NEXT FOUR YEARS brought a few engineering changes in the project, but the time was mostly spent in politics. Regularly the project was brought up in the legislature. Regularly northern senators or assemblymen would offer amendments. Regularly the amendments would lose. Regularly the project would lose. What the northerners were trying to amend into the bill was, believe it or not, a homegrown, California copy of the 160-acre limitation on federal projects. It seemed as though a stalemate had been reached, which was hardly a satisfactory end to the struggle as far as the waterlords of the Valley were concerned.



When liberal "Pat" Brown ran for governor in 1958, backers urged him to endorse a 160-acre limitation for the Water Plan, but he refused; he *did* say he wouldn't stand for any "unjust enrichment" of big landowners. It was supposed to be the sort of liberal compromise which satisfies all parties. It satisfied practically nobody.

It was finally left to newly elected United States Senator Clair Engle to find a way around the 160-acre limitation: a two-price system. The waterlords would have to pay a little more for any water in excess of that necessary for the first 160 acres. But not too much more. Not enough to get in the way of the really massive profits that they would soon realize. And of course, they could have as much water as the size of their holdings made necessary. It was enough to swing a couple of votes in the deadlocked legislature.

The bare minimum cost of the Feather River Project would be, according to the most optimistic estimates of its optimistic partisans, about $2.5 billion. That was something like California's annual budget at the time, and nobody thought the California voters would pass a bond issue for two and a half billion dollars. So they trimmed it down to a figure which they thought the voters might buy, though it was still the largest state bond issue in the history of the United States: $1.75 billion. That's what went on the 1960 ballot as Proposition 1.

Opponents hooted. How, they wanted to know, can you build a $2.5 billion project for $1.75 billion? You can't. Quietly, the engineers cropped the project down to a smaller size, to be ready should the bond issue pass. As they were doing so, opponents of the project had no trouble finding economists to punch holes in the estimates. Inflation, they pointed out, would run the costs up too high. There would be problems selling the bonds. The $1.75 billion project, which was really a $2.5 billion project, would actually wind up costing closer to $4 billion.

They were right on all counts.

Labor (except for steelworkers, operating engineers and teamsters) opposed the bond issue. So did the Grange (historically, in California, the organization representing the "real" farmers). So did two independent consulting firms hired by the state to appraise the financing. So did 50 professors of economics from the state's leading universities. So even did two RAND Corporation scientists who published a paper on Southern California's water supply.

If San Diego had voted two-to-one for the project, it would have lost. San Diego, however, voted *four*-to-one for the project. Out of 5,842,712 voters, the difference was only 173,944 votes—but it was enough for passage. No Northern California county except the one in which Oroville Dam was to be built voted "yes."

THE CALIFORNIA WATER PLAN, then, is under way. (Final note on word games: For clarity we have used "Feather River Project" to describe what is properly that project *plus* the Delta diversion project. Today, however, that combination—the total of the project approved by the voters in 1960—has come to be called "The California Water Plan.") It has been under way for almost ten years. Oroville Dam exists, ugly but effective; you can drive up to an "overlook," view a display replete with superlatives that will tell you far more than you want to know about the dam and

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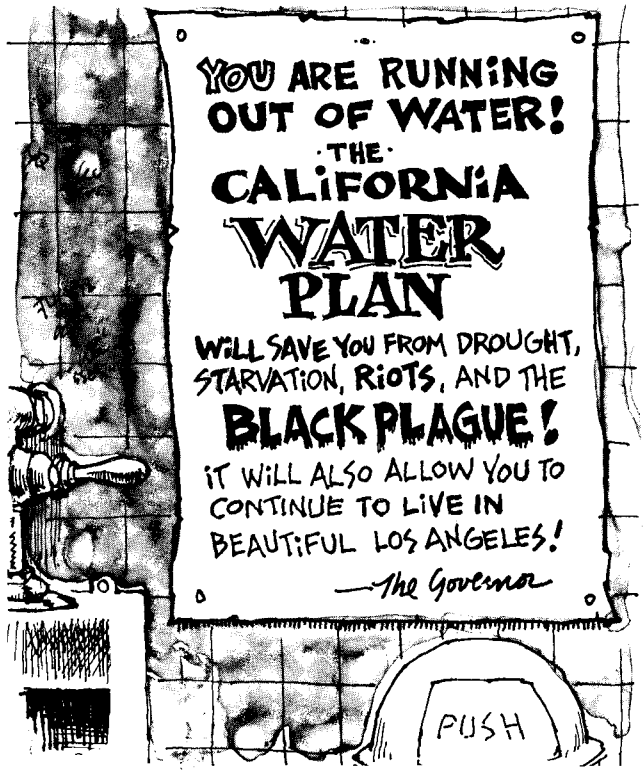
its construction, and look down on the dam itself. They had to move a whole railroad to build it. In the meantime, three other things have happened. Some Californians have learned a little more about the plan; some Californians have learned a little more about the costs; and some Californians have learned a little more about what I can only call—overworked word though it has suddenly become—ecology.

The current "official" estimate for the "final" cost of the California Water Plan is $2.75 billion. Whoever makes current "official" cost estimates knows perfectly well that this is hogwash—$4 billion is still closer to the truth. But if that admission were made, too many Californians might get mad. They want Californians to stay happy until this June, when they will be asked to vote "yes" on another ballot measure. It seems that California has this bunch of California Water Plan



bonds from the 1960 issue, bonds they hung onto as long as possible—and now nobody will buy them. The state constitution says that you can't pay more than five per cent interest on state bonds (California has one of those constitutions that tell you everything except what color socks the governor may wear), and at five per cent, nobody will buy the damned things.

They have a fast $800 million worth of bonds still to be unloaded, and they figure that if they pay seven per cent, maybe somebody will buy them. If, I should say, Californians pay seven per cent. And whom will they pay? Mainly the Bank of America and its friends, who are the biggest moneylenders in the state, just as they are the biggest underwriters of the Big Guy "farmers."

So the costs of the California Water Project continue to escalate. Thanks to an ingenious free enterprise system, the people of California have the rare opportunity to pay for the privilege of watering the vast lands of the rich so that they can grow bigger cash crops and get even richer. But these costs are just the quantitative ones, merely the tip of the iceberg. To appreciate fully the bill which the people of California are going to pay for the honor of living in a society graced by institutions like the Bank of America, let us see what the California Water Plan will *really* do, if the voters let them finish it up this coming election.

FIRST OF ALL, IT WILL—if it is extended to its planned limits, which are far beyond the currently authorized $3 billion or $4 billion project—destroy every natural river in California. There will be none without a dam, none without a man-made lake, none with natural fish and bird and invertebrate life. We don't know what all this will do to the ocean off Northern California; no one has ever asked. We don't know what it will do to the people whose living comes out of that ocean, or in a less important way to those who love to eat what others make their living catching.

Nor do we know what it will do to the climate of some lovely places, like the resort area of the Russian River, or to the Napa Valley, the heart of California's vineyards.

We know that canals and tunnels and dams and whatnot will be all over the place (the master plan calls for 370 more dams). It is already almost impossible to drive through, or to fly over, the Central Valley of California without seeing a canal, a pipeline or a gigantic row of metal towers carrying power lines. They are ugly. Agricultural land, artificial though the rows and crops may be, still somehow looks natural; it makes sense. A concrete canal does not look like a river.

We have talked about the enrichment of the few at the expense of the many. Along with this goes the continuing pollution of our information channels. Californians will be told again this spring that Proposition 7 is necessary so that Los Angeles can have its water (or, rather, they—the Southern Californians with the votes—will be told this). They will be told that again and again. The scare tactics will be dragged out as new appropriations, new authorizations are necessary. Our leaders, as much puppets on strings as any much-bemedalled Central American dictator, will lie to us. All right, they lie to us all the time; but I still don't like making it easy for them.

It is not only that the real purpose of the whole *megillah* has nothing to do with Los Angeles at all. Los Angeles might know that and still want their end of the culvert. It is that, in fact, Los Angeles does not need the water. The only sense in which Los Angeles (or San Diego, or Orange County or Riverside) can be said to *need* the water is in relation to projected figures of advertising-induced, immigrant population growth. When you provide services for this sort of a hustle, you make a decision: you have decided to support such growth; you have decided that you *want* it.

Thus, in Water Plan-opponent Alvin Duskin's phrase, Northern Californian water will go to Los Angeles in order to make more Los Angeles.

IN THE MEANTIME, THE Sacramento River keeps flowing, despite the existing CVP and the reduction of its flow by dam-building. At present, its fresh water outflow into the Delta is 18 million acre-feet a year. When the California Water Plan is finished, it will be two million acre-feet a year. So what?

So there is irrigation in the Sacramento Valley too, and the

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water dumps back into the river. It brings with it pesticide residues and minerals from the land; and in addition, the rivers in California, like those in New Jersey or Indiana, get a little industrial pollution. At the moment, in the Sacramento, all those things are diluted by 18 million acre-feet of water. Cut the flow to two million acre-feet, and you get a heavy gravy of pollutants.

In the Delta—one of the most beautiful and delicately balanced ecological systems this side of the Everglades, even as fouled up as it already is—this will make one hell of a lot of difference. If even one species of microscopic, brackish-water life disappears where the fresh water meets the salt water in the Delta, the ramifications, as I'm sure you know by now, can whiplash back through whole life chains, destroying dozens of species.

The land in the Delta—rich agricultural land—is in some places actually below the water level, and protected by levees. This is because of subsidence; if you fly over some of the islands in the Delta, you can see that they're saucer-shaped. The water underlies, as well as surrounds, the land—but it keeps it rich. Change that water and you can kill that land.

The pollutants in the water, of course, can't stop at the Delta, whatever their effect there. They would flow on out into San Francisco Bay. San Francisco Bay is an ecological mess, but there *are* all kinds of things still alive in it. We can kill the Bay if we want to; the California Water Plan may very well do so.

Okay. So much for the water that *isn't* transferred. What about the water that is?

You know that the Tigris-Euphrates Valley, now a desert, used to be a fruitful irrigated plain. There are areas like that in Pakistan, too, and elsewhere in the world. What happens is that the irrigation water first of all deposits various kinds of salts, thus making the soil more saline (or alkaline). At the same time, the irrigation process leaches some necessary minerals out of the soil, lowering its productivity.

There are ways of slowing up this process (they're very good at it in the Imperial Valley, at the southern end of California, which is a natural desert made to bloom just like in the poems), but in the long run you can't win. With present technology, at least, irrigation means, eventually, desert.

The trend is already clearly noticeable in the Central Valley, and particularly in the San Joaquin Valley, though of course destruction is not imminent. The San Joaquin River, as it used to flow before CVP made it virtually flow upstream, came into the Delta pretty heavily laden with these leached minerals, and it has left a lot of salts behind it. The only difference now is that it starts at the other end, and is then brought back to the Delta through an artificial channel. There was a move not long ago to use the channel for irrigation and to turn the actual San Joaquin River into a pipe. Modern man.

Now clearly, when this Sacramento River water is removed, by whatever means, across the Delta and into the San Joaquin Valley, it does not even have the advantage of being pure water to begin with. It's been used in the north. So it goes on being used, for irrigation, getting dirtier as it goes, not only with leached minerals but with pesticide residues and with anything else you can think of except maybe buffalo chips. But some of it is supposed to go to Los Angeles. Obviously, this now-filthy water can't be put back into the aqueduct and sent through the mountains to our southern neighbors. No, indeed: they get what *hasn't* been taken out for irrigation. What has been taken out is dumped into the San Joaquin drain and taken back to the Delta.

Or it was going to be, until we started to learn a little ecology. Now the Delta people and the Bay people have started to yell so loudly about this poisoned water—water which by the time it reaches the Delta may actually be "strong" enough to poison the land—that the planners have another idea, if you want to call it that.

They're going to divert it into Kesterson Reservoir, which I cannot locate precisely for you because it doesn't exist yet. The poisoned water, according to the current plan, will sit in Kesterson Reservoir until somebody figures out a way to clean it up or get rid of it.

Really. That's the "plan."

TO LOVE CALIFORNIA IS, alas, not necessarily to know it. There are millions of us who wander with delight among her mountains (did you know that Sequoia National Forest was originally created in order to drive out a succeeding socialist commune?), seek with joy her gentle valleys, enjoy her trees, her rolling hills, her awesome battle against the ocean—and who have no idea that she is a feudal state, held in thrall by a tiny few.

We need not kill ourselves through frenzied, irrational, needless growth; we need not labor to build stupid, destructive projects. But to achieve balance, we need first—of all things, in this most modern of states—a "land reform" which will make tortured, expensive and destructive schemes like the California Water Plan impossible.

Gene Marine is a free-lance journalist and author of The Rape of America *(Simon & Shuster). He is currently at work on a book titled* California!, *to be published by Atheneum in the fall.*

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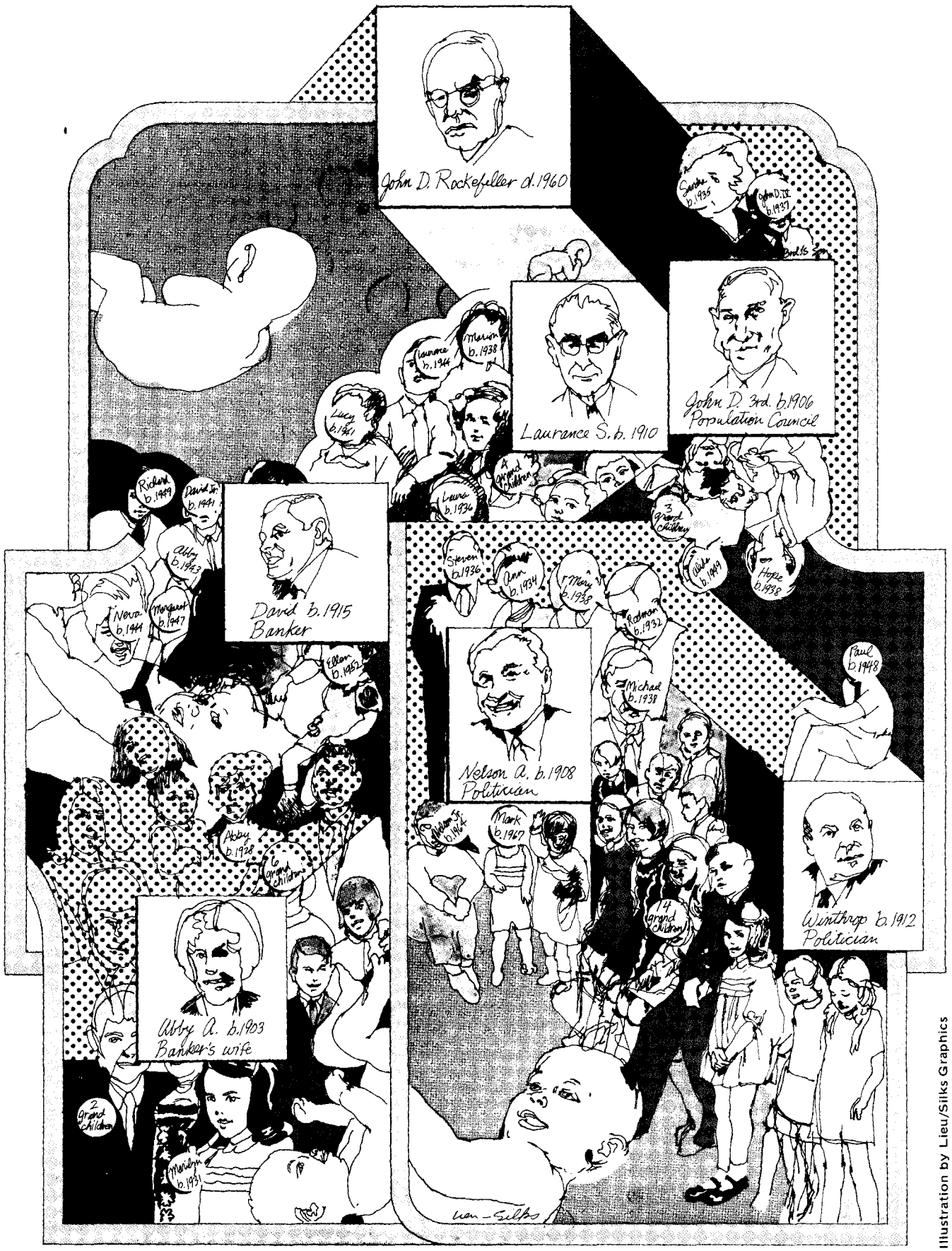
Why the Population Bomb



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Is a Rockefeller Baby

by Steve Weissman

PAUL EHRLICH IS A NICE MAN. He doesn't hate blacks, advocate genocide or defend the empire. He simply believes that the world has too many people and he's ready at the drop of a diaper pin to say so. He's written his message in *The Population Bomb,* lectured it in universities and churches, and twice used America's own form of birth control, the late-night Johnny Carson Show, to regale bleary-eyed moms and dads with tales of a standing-room-only world, a time of famines, plague and pestilence.

Together with Berkeley's Kingsley Davis and Santa Barbara's Garrett Hardin, Ehrlich represents a newly-popular school of academics out to make overpopulation the central menace of our age. Except for a still hesitant Pope, their crusade seems sure of success. Everyone from Arthur Godfrey to beat poet Gary Snyder to the leaders of China's 700,000,000 (whom the populationists alternately ignore and disparage) now agrees that population growth is a problem and that something must be done. The question is *what?* Or, more precisely, *who* will do *what* . . . and to *whom?*

Kingsley Davis, who finds voluntary family planning hopelessly futile, suggests that government postpone the age of marriage. Garrett Hardin in the April 22 Teach-In's *Environmental Handbook* urges mutual coercion mutually agreed upon. Paul Ehrlich wants to eliminate tax exemptions for more than two children, forgetting that the power to tax is the power to destroy. Voluntary family planning is out and population control in, leaving those less kindly disposed to the government to see the gaunt spectre of genocide. Long before even the least of the predicted ecological catastrophes comes to pass, such fears might well turn race on race, young on old, rich on poor.

Ehrlich, recognizing this danger, aims his appeal for smaller families less toward the poor and black than toward the white middle-class American family, which consumes more resources, occupies more space, and creates more waste than any ten of its economic inferiors. But his appeal, while barely denting the great waste-production economy, will only create the self-righteousness to impose America's middle-class will on the world.

We "are going to have to adopt some very tough foreign policy positions," Ehrlich explains, and limiting our own families will let us do that "from a psychologically strong position . . . We must use our political power to push other countries into programs which combine agricultural development and population control." Exactly what kind of power, or whether we would use it globally, or simply in countries which food shipments and "green revolutions" might save from starvation, is unclear. But he hints at a time when we might put temporary sterilants in food and water, while some of his more adventurous colleagues, no doubt impressed by pinpoint bombing in Southeast Asia, would spray whole populations from the air. If we're so willing to napalm peasants to protect them from Communists, we could quite easily use a little sterilant spray to protect them from themselves.

We really needn't speculate, however. Uses of the new overpopulation scare are quite out of the hands of either nice academics or average anti-Communist Americans. The same elites and institutions which made America the world's policemen have long been eager to serve as the world's prophylactic and agricultural provisioner, and they are damned grateful to the academics for creating a new humanitarian justification for the age-old game of empire. The academics shouldn't really get the credit though. The heavies had it all planned out back in the '50's, while young Dr. Ehrlich was still studying water snakes in the western end of Lake Erie.

[THE ROCKEFELLER FAMILY PLAN]

IN JUNE 1952, JOHN D. Rockefeller III, father of four, eldest grandson of Standard Oil and chairman of the Rockefeller Foundation, hosted a highly select conference on population in Colonial Williamsburg. To this showpiece of historical conservation, restored by the Rockefellers to its pre-Revolutionary beauty, came some 30 of the nation's most eminent conservationists, public health experts, Planned Parenthood leaders, agriculturalists, demographers and social scientists. After two and a half days of intensive discussion, they agreed to form a new group which could act as "a coordinating and catalytic agent in the broad field of population." The following fall, John D. publicly christened The Population Council and announced that he himself would serve as its first president. With this act of baptism, the population bomb became a Rockefeller baby.

In the decades previous, birth control had been largely small potatoes. The Rockefeller Foundation, together with the Milbank Memorial Fund, had, in 1936, provided John D.'s alma mater, Princeton, with an Office of Population Research. Mississippi, Louisiana, Georgia, Florida and the Carolinas pioneered programs for the (sometimes voluntary) sterilization of the poor. Planned Parenthood, a direct descendant of Margaret Sanger's American Birth Control League, struggled to provide America's poor with free counsel and contraceptives. Guy Irving Burch's Population Reference Bureau, long the leading educator on population dynamics, was little more than a one-man show, as was the Hugh Moore Fund, set up in 1944 by the founder and board chairman of Dixie Cup "to call to the attention of the American Public the dangers inherent in the population explosion."

Once the Rockefellers joined the family, however, family planning became a very different kind of business. The Ford Foundation, Carnegie, the Commonwealth and Community Funds, the Mott Trust and the Mellons joined with John D., his mother, his sister (banker wife of Jean Mauze), his brother and their financial adviser, AEC chairman Lewis Strauss, in pumping fresh blood and money into the Population Council, some of which even trickled over into the Reference Bureau and Planned Parenthood. Wealthy Englishmen and Swedes and their third world associates joined with the Americans in making Planned Parenthood international. The World Bank, headed by Chase National Bank vice president and future Population Council director Eugene Black, put its money

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behind Princeton's pioneer study on population and economic growth in India. Where birth controllers once went begging, now guest lists at Planned Parenthood banquets and signatures on ubiquitous New York Times ads read like a cross between the Social Register and Standard and Poor's Directory of Corporation Executives.

This sudden interest of the world's rich in the world's poor, whatever the humanitarian impulse, made good dollars and cents. World War II had exhausted the older colonial empires, and everywhere the cry of nationalism sounded: from Communists in China and Southeast Asia, from neutralists in Indonesia and India, from independence movements in Africa and from economic nationalists in Latin America. People wanted their own steel mills, use of their own oil and iron ore and, most menacing, the right to protect themselves against integration in an international marketplace which systematically favored the already-industrialized.

But the doughty old buzzards of empire were determined to save the species. They would pay deference to the new feelings by encouraging a bit of light industry here, and perhaps even a steel mill there. To give the underdeveloped areas what Nelson Rockefeller termed "a community of interest with us," and to extend control, they would give public loans and foreign aid for roads, dams and schools. Their foundations and universities would train a new class of native managers who, freed from outmoded ideologies, would clearly see that there was more than enough for both rich and poor.

But there wasn't enough, especially not when the post-war export of death-control technology created so many more of the poor. The poor nations rarely came close to providing even the limited economic security which, as in Europe of the Industrial Revolution, would encourage people to give up the traditional peasant security of a large family and permit the population curve to level off. In fact, for much of the population, the newly-expanded money economy actually increased insecurity. Faced with this distortion between fertility and development, developed country elites could see no natural way of stopping population growth. All they could see was people, people, people, each one threatening the hard-won stability which guaranteed access to the world's ores and oil, each one an additional competitor for the use of limited resources.

More people, moreover, meant younger people, gunpowder for more than a mere population explosion. "The restlessness produced in a rapidly growing population is magnified by the preponderance of youth," reported the Rockefeller Fund's overpowering *Prospect for America.* "In a completely youthful population, impatience to realize rising expectations is likely to be pronounced. Extreme nationalism has often been the result."

[HOLDING BACK]

IT WAS TO MEET THESE perils of population that the Rockefellers and their kindred joined the family planning movement in such force. But until they had completed a much more thoroughgoing prophylaxis of the new nationalisms, and had worked out an accommodation with Catholic opposition, they were much too sophisticated to preach birth control straight out. That would have sounded far too reminiscent of the older colonialisms and, indirectly, too much like a condemnation of the new pattern of "development."

Consequently, until the spurt of technical assistance in the '60's, the Population Council preached and, within the ideological confines of development thinking, practiced "the scientific study of population problems." They provided fellowships to Americans and, as part of the broader building of native elites, to deserving foreign students. This, they hoped, would build up a cadre of "local personnel," well-studied in population problems, "trained in objective scientific methods and able to interpret the results to their own people." The Council also undertook population studies in the colonies, funded both demographic and medical studies at U.S. universities, worked with international agencies, and maintained its own biomedical lab at Rockefeller Institute. The foundations supplemented this approach, directly funding roughly a dozen major university think-tanks devoted to population studies. These grants no more bought scholars and scholarship than native elites. It was more efficient to rent them. Like Defense Department dollars or direct corporation gifts, the smart population money posed the right (as opposed to the left) questions, paid off for right answers, and provided parameters for scholars interested in "realistic" policy alternatives.

Study, of course, was an apprenticeship for action. By 1957, an "Ad Hoc Committee" of population strategists from the Council, the Rockefeller Fund, Laurance Rockefeller's Conservation Foundation and Planned Parenthood mapped out a full population control program. Published by Population Council President Frederick Osborn as *Population: An International Dilemma,* the committee's report insisted that population growth, in the rich nations as well as the poor, would become a decisive threat to political stability. To pre-empt such instability, the population planners planned first to win over the educated classes, many of whom themselves felt the threat of population. But, wary of widespread personal sensitivities and nationalist sentiments, they would never push birth control as an end in itself. Instead they would have it grow out of the logical needs of family planning, and leave the task of gaining public acceptance to the native elite, many of whom they had trained.

An even more important antidote to nationalist reaction was the population planners' admission that population was also a problem here in the U.S. "Excessive fertility by families with meager resources must be recognized as one of the potent forces in the perpetuation of slums, ill-health, inadequate education, and even delinquency," the Ad Hoc Committee noted. They were satisfied, however, with the overall "balance of population and resources" in this country and sought only to use tax, welfare and education policy "to equalize births between people at different socio-economic levels" and to "discourage births among the socially handicapped."

[GETTING THE GOVERNMENT IN]

FOR ALL THEIR DOMESTIC concern, however, population planners were primarily absorbed in "the international dilemma" and the problems of "economic development." Like Walt Rostow, Max Millikan and the authors of the Rockefellers' *Prospect for America,* they emphasized top-down national planning, Western-influenced

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elites, foreign aid penetration, and the use of economic growth, rather than distribution and welfare, to measure development. As a result, their plan for population bore a scary resemblance to the first Vietnamization which was then recasting the educational system, banking and currency, public works, agriculture, the police, and welfare programs of Vietnam into an American mold.

The population planners' counter to insurgency then entered "official" development thinking in 1959, in the Report of President Eisenhower's Committee to Study the Military Assistance Program. Headed by General William H. Draper II (perhaps best remembered as the American government official who most helped Nazi and Zaibatsu industrialists reconcentrate their power after World War II), the committee urged that development aid be extended to local maternal and child welfare programs, to the formulation of national population plans, and to additional research on population control.

Ike, a bit old-fashioned about such intimate intervention, flatly refused. He just could not "imagine anything more emphatically a subject that is not a proper political or government activity or function or responsibility . . . This government . . . will not . . . as long as I am here, have a positive policy doctrine in its program that has to do with this problem of birth control. That's not our business."

Business disagreed, the Draper Report became the rallying cry of big business' population movement, and General Draper, an investment banker by trade, headed up both Planned Parenthood's million dollar-a-year World Population Emergency Campaign and the even bigger Victor Fund Drive.

The foundations also expanded their own programs. But the Rockefellers, Fords, Draper, and others seemingly born into the population movement hadn't gotten rich by picking up such large tabs; not if they could help it. Despite Ike's sense of propriety, they had continued to press for government sponsorship of birth control—and not without piecemeal gains, even in the Eisenhower government.

When Kennedy became President he agreed to a government role in research, promising to pass requests for birth control information and technical assistance to the foundations, and permitting Deputy Assistant Secretary of State Richard Gardner to make an offer of U.S. family planning aid to the UN.

But none of this satisfied the population people, who, beginning in 1963, made a big public push for major government programs in both domestic and overseas agencies. In May of that year, the blue-ribbon American Assembly, with the help of the Population Council, brought "The Population Dilemma" to a convocation of leaders from all walks of American life. The National Academy of Sciences, assisted professionally and financially by the Council, issued a scary report on *The Growth of World Population.* Draper, Moore, and Harper & Row's Cass Canfield then set up the Population Crisis Committee, "the political action arm of the population control movement," to publish ads, lobby government officials and promote public support for government aid to family planning.

Sometimes the population people defended their proposals on humanitarian grounds; at other times they were more candid: "If the World Bank expects to get its loans repaid by India," explained Draper, "if the U.S., much of whose aid is in the form of loans, expects to have them repaid . . . the population problem . . . must be solved." Bolstered by Fulbright, Gruening and other long-term congressional advocates of "economic development," and by a public reversal of position by former President Eisenhower, the campaign pushed the Kennedy, then the Johnson government closer to open birth control programs.

But fear of domestic controversy, especially in the Catholic community, and a lack of positive foreign response held the movement in check until the White House Conference on International Cooperation, keynoted by John D. Rockefeller III, in November 1965. The Conference Committee on Population—chaired by Gardner and including Black, Canfield, Draper and John D.—then urged that the government greatly expand its birth control assistance to foreign countries. Conference committees on Food and Agriculture and Technical Cooperation and Investment concurred, urging a multilateral approach.

Much impressed by this show of "public support," the very next session of Congress passed Johnson's "New Look" in foreign policy, which made birth control part of foreign assistance and permitted the President to judge a nation's "self-help" in population planning as a criterion for giving Food for Freedom aid. (Separate legislation gave the Department of Health, Education and Welfare a birth control program for domestic consumption.) The "New Look," which combined population control with agricultural development, international education, encouragement of private overseas investment, and multilateral institution-building, was, of course, the response of the mid-'50's to nationalism. It was also a foretaste of what Paul Ehrlich's "tough foreign policy positions" would easily become.

[THE GREEN REVOLUTION]

THE NEW LOOK IN INTERVENTION got a good test in the Indian famine of '65 and '66—until Biafra the best-advertised famine in recent times, and a major boost for the population control campaign. Ever since the victory of the Chinese Revolution, India has been a bastion of the "free [enterprise] world." But Western businessmen long fretted over her "neutralism" and "socialism" and her restrictions on foreign participation in key areas of the economy.

In 1958, India faced a devastating foreign exchange crisis. In response, the World Bank and the "Aid India Club" promised one billion dollars a year in aid, and international investors found themselves with golden opportunities. The Ford Foundation quickly stepped in with a "food crisis" team of experts, which pushed India's planners into increased agricultural spending, ultimately at the expense of planned investments in housing and other social services. Several rounds of business conferences on India together with official and semi-official visits followed until, in 1964, Undersecretary of Commerce Franklin Delano Roosevelt, Jr. led a top-flight delegation of American business executives to New Delhi with the explicit objective of "persuading the government to adopt policies more attractive to potential investors."

Hunger warriors from agribusiness were particularly hot for expansion. Poor harvest in prior years had driven food prices up, and with them, the demand for fertilizer and pesticides.

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Consequently, the Rockefellers' Jersey Standard wanted price and distribution restrictions lifted on their Bombay fertilizer plant. A Bank of America syndicate, together with India's Birla group, needed government support for what would become "the largest urea and compound fertilizer plant in this part of the world." Petroleum producers, foreseeing an otherwise useless excess of naphtha, wanted permission to set up fertilizer plants which could utilize the petroleum by-product. The Ford and Rockefeller foundations wanted to expand use of their new high yield seeds deliberately bred for large fertilizer and pesticide inputs, and get on with the commercialization of agriculture.

But Western pressure was of little avail until the failure of the summer monsoons in 1965. Then, in the words of the World Bank's Pearson Report, "Instead of signing annual or multiyear [food] sales agreements, as with other countries and with India itself, in earlier years, the United States doled out food aid a few months at a time as policy conditions were agreed upon."

India, faced with a short leash on food supplies, acceded to the foreign pressures. She pared down government control, liberalized her import restriction and devalued the rupee. Her government gave the chemical and oil men permission to build new fertilizer plants, to fix their own prices, to handle their own distribution outside the normal channels of the rural cooperatives, and to maintain a greater share of management control than permitted under Indian law. Most important, officials agreed to give greater emphasis to agriculture and to maintain high food prices as an incentive to growers. "Call them 'strings,' call them 'conditions,' or whatever one likes," boasted the New York Times, "India has little choice now but to agree to many of the terms that the United States, through the World Bank, is putting on its aid. For India simply has nowhere else to turn."

With the ground so carefully prepared, the miracle seeds grew beautifully. Once-barren land flowered. Indian farmers harvested 95 million tons of grain in 1967-68, bettering the best of previous yields by five per cent. The following year they did almost as well, and growers laid plans for 100 million metric tons in 1969-70. Ecstatic Indian government officials announced that India would be self-sufficient in food production by 1971. "The Green Revolution," exclaimed David Rockefeller to the International Industrial Conference, "may ultimately have a cumulative effect in Asia, Africa, and Latin America such as the introduction of the steam engine had in the industrial revolution."

[REVOLUTION OF A DIFFERENT COLOR]

THE PRESSURE, BANTERED ABOUT everywhere from the Canarsie Shopping News to Business Week, had been anything but subtle. Profits would be high. Yet even liberals like John Kenneth Galbraith and Chester Bowles, both former ambassadors to New Delhi, lavishly praised the whole enterprise. People have to eat.

They have to, but even with paternalistic green revolutions they still don't always get to. "Modern" agriculture in America and the West, dependent upon high inputs of fertilizer and pesticides, is an ecological disaster. We are only now discovering what DDT and many fertilizers do to our food, water, soil, mother's milk and farm workers. India's prospects are even more bleak. Chemically resistant miracle grains will soon produce miracle pests, which could easily wipe out whole areas. Early high yields depended heavily on unusually good weather—which is not dependable, and on irrigation—which is reportedly salting the soil. These problems have led many experts to question how long the revolution will remain green. But most of the experts still come down on the side of more "modern" agriculture, without even exploring possibly safer alternatives like the high-yield, labor-intensive and biologically-integrated "gardening" of the best traditional Asian agriculture.

But the real disaster is more immediate. The same high food prices which gave incentive to growers also put sufficient food out of the reach of those who need it most. Commercial agriculture, by definition, produces for profit, not people. At the same time, the new seeds required irrigation and pesticides, and heavy inputs of fertilizer, the costs of which soared with the removal of government price ceilings. "So far," reports Clifton Wharton, Jr., writing in Foreign Affairs, "spectacular results have been achieved primarily among the relatively large commercial farmers." Those who haven't the capital, or can't get the credit from village moneylenders or meager government programs, are pushed off their land and into an agricultural proletariat or worse, while the new Kulaks, the peasant capitalists, re-invest their profits in modern labor-saving machinery.

The inevitable result of this trend is class and regional conflict. Wharton reports a clash in the prize Tanjore district of Madras in which 43 persons died in a struggle between landlords and the landless, "who felt they were not receiving their proper share of the increased prosperity brought by the Green Revolution." Two Swedish journalists, Lasse and Lisa Berg, reporting in Stockholm's *Sondagsbilagan*, provide pictures of "excess" Indian peasants burned in kerosene by a landlord. One hates to speculate on how a companion population program would work, but it is all too easy to believe reports from India of forced sterilization.

But there is a positive side. As in the Philippines, where peasants displaced by the commercialization of agriculture are strengthening the Huk resistance, the Green Revolution in India is producing a Red Revolution. For the first time since Independence, militant revolutionary movements have led Indian peasants into rebellions in different parts of the country, and in certain areas, the Bergs report, the poorest people in the countryside are organizing themselves across the boundaries of caste.

[THE NEW INTERNATIONALISM]

DESPITE ALL A ROCKEFELLER might do, the New Look in empire even met obstacles at home. From 1966 on, displeasure with the unwinnable war in Vietnam escalated along with the war-caused inflation, and Congress, though it had authorized the new programs, was increasingly unwilling to fund any new foreign entanglements. In the spring of 1967, for example, Senator Fulbright, impressed with what the White House Conference's Committee on Population had proposed, asked Congress to support voluntary family planning abroad with an appropriation of $50 million a year for three years. His less liberal colleagues approved $35 million for one year. Congress has treated the domestic birth control issue with the same lack of enthusiasm, despite the growth of third world

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nationalism within the U.S. Members of Congress are just too provincial to understand the needs of empire.

In an attempt to create a congressional climate more favorable to population control, the empire builders decided to drum up some public pressure for their cause. Consequently, a new avalanche of full-page spreads warned war-weary newspaper readers that "The Population Bomb Threatens the Peace of the World"; that "Hungry Nations Imperil the Peace of the World"; that "Whatever your cause, it's a lost cause unless we control population." The ads, sponsored by Hugh Moore's Campaign to Check the Population Explosion and signed by the usual crew of population controllers, urged greatly expanded appropriations and a crash program for population stabilization. A new Presidential Committee on Population and Family Planning, headed by HEW Secretary Wilbur Cohen and, of course, John D. III, persuaded Nixon to promise greatly-expanded federal programs and a commission on domestic population problems. The Ford Foundation, initiating its first grants for birth control assistance in the U.S. in 1966, provided a barrage of money and reports. The American Assembly, with the help of the Kellog Foundation and now-Secretary of Agriculture Clifford Hardin, sponsored a national conference on Overcoming World Hunger which, despite its optimism about the green revolution, continued to push for population control. Hugh Moore pushed Ehrlich's book and his own ads. Draper urged doubling the 1970 AID appropriation for birth control to $100,000 and was warmly applauded by James Riddleberger, his successor as head of the Population Crisis Committee. Environmentalists, along with their enemies, "the industrial polluters," found the chief cause of every problem from slums to suburbs, pollution to protest, in the world's expanding numbers.

More than ever, the population power structure pushed for a world population policy. From the early '50's, the population people realized the sensitivities—religious, ideological, military, political and personal—raised by the offer of birth control assistance, and always advocated international programs. Then, when domestic reaction to intervention in Vietnam soured the overall population control effort, they quickly joined in the generalized elitist move to transfer the entire economic development program to international agencies, where they and their third world friends could directly control the programs without interference from congressional "hicks."

The UN should take the leadership in responding to world population growth. So urged a special United Nations Association panel headed by John D., financed by Ford, and including Richard Gardner, former World Bank president George Woods, former AID administrator and now Ford Director of International Operations David E. Bell, and AID director John A. Hannah. The committee urged the creation of a UN Commissioner of Population with broad powers to coordinate "radically upgraded" population activities. The Commissioner would work under the United Nations Development Program, whose director, Paul Hoffman, is a former president of the Ford Foundation, administrator of the Marshall Plan, and aide to General Draper in the reconquest of Japan by big business. Under Hoffman's guidance, the second UN Decade of Development is already preparing to concentrate on agricultural development, education, and population control.

The American population elite is also trying to beef up the Development Assistance Committee (DAC) of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, which brings together the old Marshall Plan nations with Japan, Australia, Canada and the United States. Since the mid-'60's, DAC has given greater efforts to coordinating the agricultural and population control aid of the members. James Riddleberger, Draper's replacement on the Population Crisis Committee, was the first chairman of DAC, while the present chairman, former State Department official Edwin Martin, served as a staff member of the original Draper Committee.

Most important in the new internationalism is the World Bank. Headed by Robert McNamara, veteran of population control efforts in Vietnam, the Bank is now developing the management capacity to become the key institution in administering the empire. "Just as McNamara concentrated on the cataclysmal, the nuclear threat, while at the Department of Defense," gushed a New York Times feature, "so at the World Bank he has chosen to make the population explosion, another cataclysmal problem, his central, long-range preoccupation. For if populations are allowed to double every 20 years, as they do in low-income countries, it will wipe out the effect of development and lead to chaos." Aided by former AID administrator William S. Gaud, now executive vice-president of the World Bank's International Finance Corporation, and former Alliance for Progress chief Covey T. Oliver, now U.S. delegate to the World Bank, McNamara is currently preparing for the day when the great statesmen meet to discuss the control of population.

With support in the White House and agreement among their friends (the trustworthy American managers in the international agencies), everything seems to favor the new interventionism of the big business internationalists. Everything, that is, except a new-found popular preference for non-intervention, or even isolation. But if overpopulation per se becomes the new scapegoat for the world's ills, the current hesitations about intervention will fall away. Soon everyone, from the revolting taxpayer who wants to sterilize the Panther-ridden ghettos to the foreign aid addict, will line up behind the World Bank and the UN and join the great international crusade to control the world's population. Let empire save the earth.

Simply fighting this war on people with a people's war will not eliminate the need for each nation to determine how best to balance resources and population. But where there is greater economic security, political participation, elimination of gross class division, liberation of women, and respected leadership, humane and successful population programs are at least possible. Without these conditions, genocide is nicely masked by the welfare imperialism of the West. In the hands of the self-seeking, humanitarianism is the most terrifying *ism* of all.

Steve Weissman is a member of the Pacific Studies Center in Palo Alto, California. The Center is a research collective specializing in the social, political and economic dimensions of American capitalism. Projects range from studies and publications on U.S. involvement in the Third World, multinational corporations, labor problems, high finance and environmental destruction, to films on ecology and inflation.

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The Eco-Establishment

by Katherine Barkley and Steve Weissman

ASK VIETNAM PROTESTERS about the April 22 National Environmental Teach-In and they'll tell you it's a scheme to contain their spring offensive against the ecological disaster in Southeast Asia. Ask young blacks about this new movement to save the ecosystem and they'll tell you that it is a way of distracting attention from the old movement that was supposed to save their skins.

Then go and talk to an environmental activist, a Survival Walker. Ask him why the ecology movement has turned its back on Vietnam and civil rights and he'll explain, with a convincing freshness the old New Left has lost, that the sky is falling. He'll point out that we all have to breathe and that none of us—white or black, Vietnamese peasant or American marine—has much of a future on CO_2. We all must eat, and a diet of pesticides is deadly. We all need water, and the dwindling supplies are unfit for human (or even industrial) consumption. We all depend on the same limited forests, mines, oceans and soil, and we are all going to choke on the same waste and pollution.

To this new ecology activist, nothing could be more obvious: we've all got to unite behind the overriding goal of unfouling our common nest before it's too late, turning back the pages of the environmental doomsday book. If we succeed, then we can get back to these other questions. There is no stopping, he will add, an idea whose time has come.

He will be right, too—though a bit naive about where ideas come from and where movements go. Environment *will be* the issue of the '70's, but not simply because the air got thicker or the oceans less bubbly, or even because the war in Vietnam got too bloody to have to think about every day. It will be the issue of the '70's because such stewards of the nation's wealth as the Ford Foundation, with its Resources for the Future, Inc. (RFF), and Laurance Rockefeller's Conservation Foundation needed a grass-roots movement to help consolidate their control over national policymaking, bolster their hold over world resources, and escalate further cycles of useless economic growth.

[II]

THE ENVIRONMENT BANDWAGON is not as recent a phenomenon as it seems. It began to gather momentum back in the mid-'60's under the leadership of Resources for the Future. "The relationship of people to resources, which usually has been expressed in terms of quantity, needs to be restated for modern times to emphasize what is happening to the quality of resources," warned RFF President Joseph L. Fisher in his group's 1964 report. "The wide variety of threats to the quality of the environment may well embrace the gravest U.S. resources problem for the next generation." The following year, Resources for the Future established a special research and educational program in environmental quality, funded with a $1.1 million grant from its parent organization, the Ford Foundation.

Created by Ford in the early '50's during the scare over soaring materials costs, RFF had just made its name in conservation by organizing the Mid-Century Conference on Resources for the Future, the first major national conservation conference since Teddy Roosevelt and Gifford Pinchot staged the National Governors' Conference in 1908. Held in 1953, the Mid-Century Conference mustered broad support from both the country's resource users and conservers for the national conservation policy already spelled out by President Truman's Materials Policy Commission. It was this Commission, headed by William S. Paley (board chairman of CBS and a founding director of RFF), which had openly affirmed the nation's inalienable right to extract cheap supplies of raw materials from the underdeveloped countries, and which set the background for Eisenhower and Dulles' oft-quoted concern over the fate of the tin and tungsten of Southeast Asia. Insuring adequate supplies of resources for the future became a conservationist byword.

By the mid-'60's, Resources for the Future had begun to broaden its concern to include resource quality, thus setting the tone for a decade of conservationist rhetoric and behavior. The trustees of the Ford Foundation, an executive committee of such international resource users and polluters as Esso and Ford Motor, established a separate Resources and Environment Division which, since 1966, has nourished such groups as Open Space Action Committee, Save-the-Redwoods League, Massachusetts Audubon Society, Nature Conservancy, and the Environmental Defense Fund. A year later, the Rockefeller Foundation set up an Environmental Studies Division, channeling money to the National Academy of Science and RFF and to Laurance Rockefeller's own pet project, the Conservation Foundation.

The conservationist-planners' new concern over threats to

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the quality of resources, and to life itself, was actually an outgrowth of their earlier success in assuring cheap and plentiful raw materials. It had become clear that supplies of resources would be less a problem than the immense amount of waste generated as a by-product of those now being refined. The more industry consumed, the more it produced and sold, the larger and more widespread the garbage dumps. Rivers and lakes required costly treatment to make water suitable for use in homes and industry. Smoggy air corroded machines, ruined timberlands, reduced the productivity of crop lands and livestock—to say nothing of its effect on the work capacity of the average man. Pesticides were killing more than pests, and raising the spectre of cumulative disaster. Cities were getting noisier, dirtier, uglier and more tightly packed, forcing the middle class to the suburbs and the big urban landowners to the wall. "Ugliness," Lyndon Johnson exclaimed sententiously, "is costly."

This had long been obvious to the conservationists. Something had to be done, and the elite resource planners took as their model for action the vintage 1910 American conservation movement, especially its emphasis on big business cooperation with big government.

[III]

WHEN THE 1890 CENSUS officially validated the fact that the frontier was closed, a generation of business and government leaders realized with a start that the American Eden had its bounds. Land, timber and water were all limited, as was the potential for conflicts over their apportionment. What resources should timbermen, grazers or farmers exploit? What should be preserved as a memory of the American past? Who would decide these questions? The conservationists—Teddy Roosevelt, Chief Forester Gifford Pinchot and some of the bigger timber, grazing and agricultural interests—pushed heavily for a new policy to replace the crude and wanton pillage which had been part of the frontier spirit. While preservationists like John Muir were fighting bitterly against any and all use of wild areas by private interests, the conservationists wanted only to make sure that the environment would be exploited with taste and efficiency.

Roosevelt and his backers won out, of course. And the strategy they used is instructive: failing initially to muster congressional support for their plan, they mobilized a broadly based conservation movement, supposedly to regulate the private interests which they in fact represented. Backed by the widespread public support it had whipped up, the conservationist juggernaut then began to move the country toward a more regulated—but still private—exploitation of its riches.

Of course, the private interests which had helped draft this policy also moved—to staff the regulatory agencies, provide jobs for retiring regulators, and generally to put the right man in the right niche most of the time. Within short order, the regulatory agencies were captives of the interests they were supposed to regulate, and they were soon being used as a screen which kept the public from seeing the way that small interests were squeezed out of the competition for resources. Their monopoly position thus strengthened by regulatory agencies, these large interests found it easy to pass the actual costs of regulation on to the citizen consumer.

[IV]

THE OLD AMERICAN CONSERVATION movement had reacted out of fear over resource scarcities; the new movement of the mid-'60's feared, as well, the destruction of resource quality. And the corporation conservationists and their professional planners in organizations like Resources for the Future once again looked to government regulations as an answer to the difficulties they foresaw. Only this time the stakes were much higher than they had been at the early part of the century. Many of the resource planners want an all-encompassing environmental agency or Cabinet level Department of Resources, Environment and Population. Holding enormous power over a wide range of decisions, this coordinating apparatus would be far more convenient for the elite than the present array of agencies, each influenced by its own interest groups.

Who will benefit from this increased environmental consciousness and who will pay is already quite clear to business, if not to most young ecology activists. "The elite of business leadership," reports Fortune, "strongly desire the federal government to step in, set the standards, regulate all activities pertaining to the environment, and help finance the job with tax incentives." The congressional background paper for the 1968 hearings on National Policy on Environmental Quality, prepared with the help of Rockefeller's Conservation Foundation, spells out the logic in greater detail: "Lack of national policy for the environment has now become as expensive to the business community as to the Nation at large. In most enterprises, a social cost can be carried without undue burden if all competitors carry it alike. For example, industrial waste disposal costs can, like other costs of production, be reflected in prices to consumers. But this becomes feasible only when public law and administration put all comparable forms of waste-producing enterprises under the same requirements." Only the truly powerful could be so candid about their intention to pick the pocket of the consumer to pay for the additional costs they will be faced with.

The resource planners are also quite frank about the wave of subsidies they expect out of the big clean-up campaign. "There will have to be a will to provide funds," explains Joseph Fisher, "to train the specialists, do the research and experimentation, build the laws and institutions through which more rapid progress [in pollution control] can be made, and of course, build the facilities and equipment." The coming boondoggles—replete with tax incentives, direct government grants, and new products—will make the oil depletion allowance seem tame. And what's more, it will be packaged as a critical social service.

The big business conservationists will doubtless be equally vocal about the need for new bond issues for local water and sewage treatment facilities; lead crusades to overcome reluctance of the average citizen to vote "yes" on bond measures; and then, as bondholders themselves, skim a nice tax-free six or seven per cent off the top.

It isn't just the citizen and taxpayer who will bear the burden, however. Bedraggled Mother Nature, too, will pay. Like the original conservation movement it is emulating, today's big business conservation is not interested in preserving the earth; it is rationally reorganizing for a more efficient rape of resources (e.g., the export of chemical-intensive agribusiness) and the production of an ever grosser national product.

(Continued on page 54)

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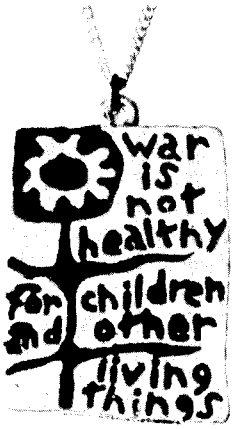

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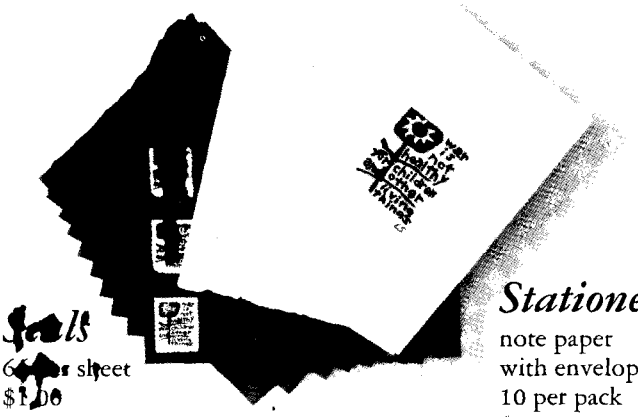

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Science and the Gross National Pollution

THE WORLD'S FISHERIES ARE in danger. This year we lost the California mackerel catch. Last year it was the magnificently productive Coho salmon of Lake Michigan. Both fish were banned from interstate commerce because of DDT residues. If experience with the Coho salmon and other fish applies, we can expect the mackerel gradually to disappear, its young poisoned. Other fish will follow. This loss is especially significant because it indicates that the ocean is contaminated to the point that human food supplies are being reduced. But even more disturbing is the continued failure of American science to address itself to such problems clearly and effectively.

For a culture that is brutalized daily by casual brushes with war, it is perhaps unreasonable to expect a general outpouring of grief over one more crisis in the existence of a species of fish. But how can it be that the American scientific establishment, whose ingenuity and technology appear often to be almost infinitely versatile, is fumbling with the crisis of the environment? Science should have been intensely concerned with the devastation of the earth long before conspicuous disasters and grass-roots protests made ecology fashionable. But scientists have not been leaders in the protest, and now they are conspicuously unprepared for the environmental crisis and often even antagonistic. To understand this failure is to probe the way that science has grown in the United States over the past two decades; it is also, as with other aspects of ecology, to wonder about the wisdom of the present course of this country's political and economic systems.

[II]

A TESTAMENT TO THE seriousness of the environmental problems and the inability of science to provide ready solutions comes from a look at a recent Health, Education and Welfare report by a special commission —the so-called "Mrak Commission"—on the relationship between pesticides and human health. One of its most striking conclusions points to "the absurdity of the situation in which 200 million Americans are undergoing lifelong exposure [to pesticides], yet our knowledge of what is happening to them is at best fragmentary and for the most part indirect and inferential." Despite this admission, however, the report observes that "production and use of pesticides in the United States is expected to grow at an annual rate of approximately 15 per cent." This rate of growth means that pesticide production will double every five years or so and that the hazards that science is now recognizing (not to mention those that haven't yet been uncovered because researchers have been busy elsewhere) can be expected to be at least twice as serious by 1974. To be sure, the Mrak Commission calls for an end to the use of DDT and DDD within two years, and it makes appropriate gestures to the possibilities for control of pests without using persistent pesticides. But nowhere does it challenge the wisdom of allowing production of these poisons to double every five years over the foreseeable future. Nor does it provide any appraisal of the future impact of this massive chemical assault on the living systems of the earth, or even recommend an expansion of research and regulatory activities appropriate to such a deadly growth rate. While a growth of 15 per cent is attractive in a portfolio of stocks, it is very difficult to maintain a highly integrated, complex social system that dumps poison at that rate into its own environment.

PESTICIDES ARE obviously no longer simply a national problem involving 200 million Americans. They are now a world problem. Recent studies with my colleagues at Brookhaven National Laboratory, and studies by others elsewhere, suggest that most of the DDT produced in the world has been held at one time or another as vapor in the atmosphere, is accumulating in the oceans and is having a catastrophic effect on the earth's biota. It has, in fact, become almost commonplace to point out that lakes and streams are being seriously degraded, bird populations reduced and in some cases eliminated, and oceanic fisheries jeopardized. The broad pattern is very clear. DDT and similar poisons are worldwide pollutants, products of Western technology that are rapidly transforming the ecosystems of the planet—from the complex communities that have built the biosphere and have supported oceanic fisheries and man, to the simplified biota of cesspools such as Lake Erie. How far can we go in reducing the earth's biota this way and still support large human populations?

The pesticides problem is of course not the only worldwide pollution scientists have handled poorly. It happens to be one of the most important and best known. Others are now appearing with terrifying regularity. Take for example the so-called "PCB," toxic polychlorinated phenyl compounds that appear to have a distribution similar to that of DDT. They are used in large quantities in various industries, later to vaporize and circulate freely throughout the biosphere. How much of these compounds there is now circulating is not known, nor are their effects on the biota known, although PCB's are certainly accumulated in living systems and are toxic to many kinds of organisms. And how many other toxic organic compounds are circulating in biologically significant quantities worldwide?

To these questions we must add the questions raised by combustion of gasoline containing 2.4 grams of lead per gallon; fossil fuels containing sulphur; the widespread use of mercuric compounds as fungicides and as anti-fouling compounds; wastes from chemical milling; and a host of other toxic inorganic substances. We must also add the broader scale of "toxic" effects due to changes in temperature of the earth caused by particulate matter in the atmosphere.

The broad pattern of changes caused by the accumulation of these toxic effects is simple enough, although not widely recognized. For an indication,

by George M. Woodwell

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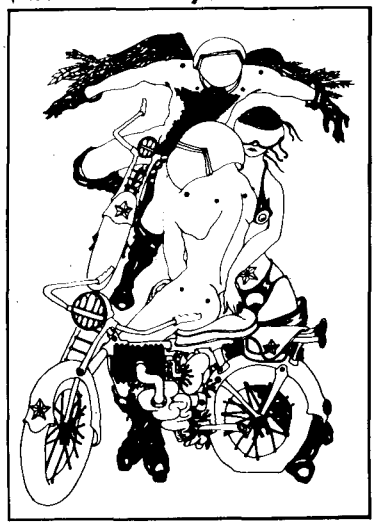

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we need only examine the areas around smelters such as those at Ducktown, Tennessee, and Sudbury, Ontario, where releases of oxides of sulphur have devastated the vegetation and animal life over many square miles. The same processes are now at work worldwide, involving not only sulphur, but a thousand other toxic substances. The losses are not simply robins, bluebirds, eagles, mackerel or trees, but the potential of the earth to support life, including man. And through all of this the scientist seems to have been more of a cause than a cure. How does this happen?

[III]

THE CURRENT DISARRAY and helplessness of science should not be surprising to anyone who has watched modern scientific trends in this country, especially since the Cold War. Science has grown during this period in two segments, one industrially supported and the other supported by public funds. The overriding objectives of industrially-supported science have always been stated candidly: greater

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profits for industry. Profits are increased by spreading the costs of waste treatment to as wide a group as possible, so that no individual notices a significant effect and the costs need not be borne by industry itself. Obviously, such a commitment leads much more rapidly to a deteriorating environment than to spontaneous solutions for that deterioration. Despite the increasing number of advertisements by industry on the efficacy of their own research into pollution, profits continue to come from spreading the costs of waste treatment widely. It is fatuous to hope that any cures to the environmental problem will arise in industry.

The objectives of publicly-supported science—that branch of science potentially serving the broader public interest—on the other hand, have been for the most part set by Congress and reflect the country's official sense of what is important. Research money has long been available for war—including chemical and biological warfare and bomb-related physics—and for cancer-related chemistry and biology. And thus the tax-supported segment of science has developed an elaborate technology and a corps of brilliant specialists in biochemistry and physics. A scattering of Nobel prizes and other awards for accomplishments such as cracking the genetic code has helped to fasten public attention on these brilliant scientists, reinforcing the direction in which their research was going and strengthening the trend they represented.

As the scale and influence of science increased through the late '50's and early '60's, the attention of scientists themselves shifted from the original "practical" ones of war, bombs and cancer to "basic research," a phrase that usually meant more biochemistry and more nuclear physics, although of a less pragmatic nature. There was also a strong tendency to allow the scientists themselves to determine where research money should go. It is hardly surprising that the aristocracy of science that grew under these circumstances to hold high posts in academia and government was dominated by biochemists and even more by physical scientists. Nor is it surprising that the bias of the new elite of science was reflected in textbooks and school curricula, thus influencing future generations of scientists.

Throughout all this, environment as a subject was generally scorned within

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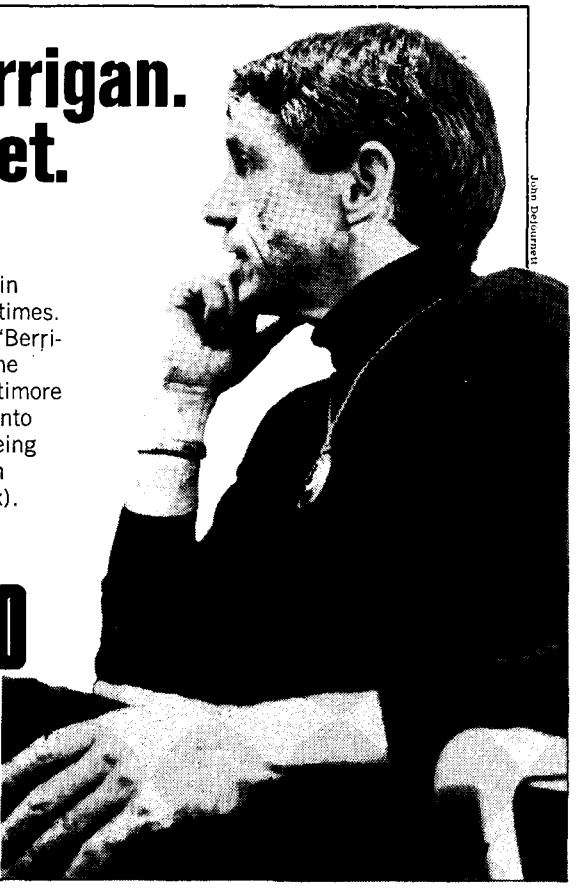

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the scientific aristocracy. Environmental problems that were serious enough were thought amenable to quick technological cures. But now, suddenly after decades of neglect, the environment is in crisis. When wise and massive action in science and government is demanded, the American man of science is stumbling. He is stumbling in part because he was led by the availability of money to participate in building into society a large intellectual deficit—a deficit of research, of knowledge, of public understanding of the structure and function of environment, and a deficit of administrators experienced with environmental problems. He is stumbling also because he fears he is obsolete, too specialized, too vulnerable to the changing winds of the politics of science as determined by the needs of industry and government. In uncertainty, he is rushing to re-examine himself, the problem and his tools; but there is danger that he will simply try to rename his work "environmental" and set to work applying corn plasters to the cancer.

The exploiters of the environment have much to gain by subtly opposing further knowledge on subjects that might inhibit their rights as exploiters. Thus they create doubt and force compromise by questioning the accuracy, integrity and objectivity of science when it fails to support them.

ULTIMATELY THERE MUST come recognition that the environmental crisis is a confrontation between man and nature; between human systems whose influence is now global, and the natural ecosystems that have built and maintain the biosphere as a place suitable for life. How much DDT, how many pesticides, how much fossil fuel, lead, sulphur and particulate matter can we spew into the atmosphere? How do we make the transition from unrestrained growth to limited growth, even to stability in many segments of national economies—a stability dictated by the dimensions of the earth? There are powerful forces aligned against finding a rational approach to this transition. Growth has many advocates; restraint has few.

The immediate crisis requires specific new knowledge of environment to reconcile the confrontation between man and nature. Solutions, if there are any to be found, will deal with the transition from growth to stability and will have far-reaching political and social implications. What does stability mean for society? For technology? Does it mean no change at all? Or does it not mean that limits must be defined: the limits of the biosphere, the oceans, continents, estuaries, cities, and of the agricultural and natural ecosystems that support them; the limits of power development, of water. And it must mean also that the limits of man are to be explored, the limits of social and political systems. And deliberate attempts made to keep human activities small enough to be within these limits to avoid worldwide disasters. These are new objectives for science and for government.

The hope—and it is as yet a very dim one—is that the nations which can afford it will, perhaps propelled by their young people, very soon recognize that they must address themselves in a massive way to the overriding issue of whether or not complex human civilization is going to survive.

George M. Woodwell is senior ecologist at Brookhaven National Laboratory and a lecturer at Yale University.

The Eco-Establishment

(Continued from page 49)

The seeming contradictions are mind-boggling: industry is combatting waste so it can afford to waste more; it is planning to produce more (smog-controlled) private autos to crowd more highways, which means even more advertising to create more "needs" to be met by planned obsolescence. Socially, the result is disastrous. Ecologically, it could be the end.

Why don't the businessmen simply stop their silly growthmanship? They can't. If one producer slowed down in the mad race, he'd be eaten up by his competitors. If all conspired together to restrain growth permanently, the unemployment and cutbacks would make today's recession look like full employment, and the resulting unrest would make today's dissent look like play time at Summerhill.

[v]

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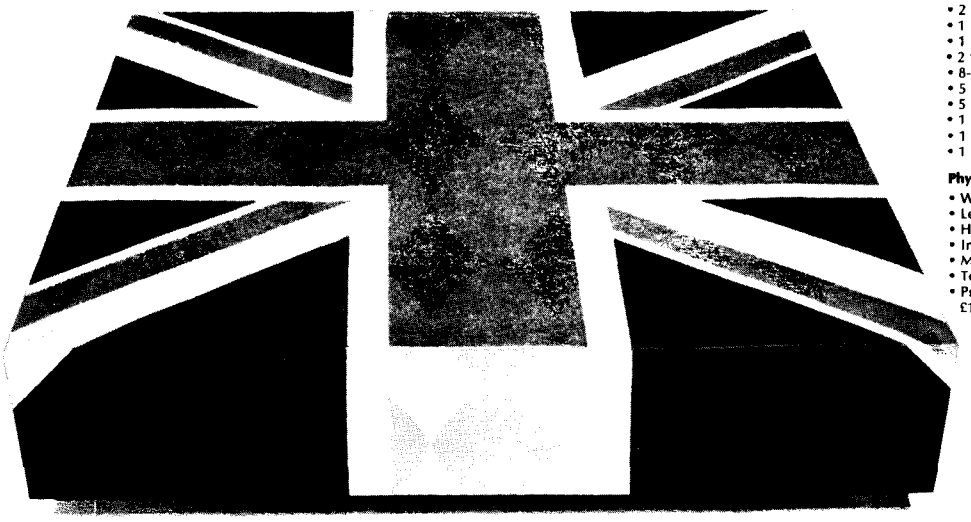

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- Two overripe Kitsch art "souvenirs" by Peter Blake.

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lowships at the "better" schools, and coordinating research efforts of Resources for the Future, the Conservation Foundation, RAND, Brookings Institution, the National Academy of Science and the Smithsonian Institution. Major forums were held in 1965 and 1966 on "The Quality of the Environment" and "Future Environments of North America." Research findings were programmed directly into industrial trade associations and business firms.

Then the resource people put their men and programs in the official spotlight: Laurance Rockefeller (founder of and major donor to the Conservation Foundation and also a director of RFF) chaired both the White House Conference on Natural Beauty and the Citizens' Advisory Committee on Recreation and Natural Beauty (which Nixon has rechristened his Citizens' Advisory Committee on Environmental Quality). Conservation Foundation President Russell Train headed up Nixon's Task Force on Resources and Environment, with help from Fisher and several other directors of RFF and the Conservation Foundation, and then became Undersecretary of Interior.

Then the media were plugged in, an easy task for men who have in their hands the direction of CBS, National Educational Television, Time-Life-Fortune, Christian Science Monitor, New York Times and Cowles publications, as well as many of the trade journals and conservation magazines. Independent media, seeing that environment was now news, picked up and broadcast the studies which the conservation elite had produced. Public opinion leaders told their public, in Business Week's words, "to prepare for the approval of heavy public and private spending to fight pollution."

Finally, the grass roots were given the word. RFF, Ford and Rockefeller had long worked with and financed the old-time conservation groups, from Massachusetts Audubon to the Sierra Club, and now the big money moved beyond an appreciation of wilderness to a greater activism. When, for example, David Brower broke with the Sierra Club, it was Robert O. Anderson of Atlantic-Richfield and RFF who gave him $200,000 to set up Friends of the Earth (prudently channeling the donation through the organization's tax-exempt affiliate, the John Muir Institute).

When Senator Gaylord Nelson and Congressman Pete McCloskey got around to pushing the National Teach-In, it was the Conservation Foundation, the Audubon Society and the American Conservation Association which doled out the money while Friends of the Earth was putting together *The Environmental Handbook*, meant to be the Bible of the new movement.

The big business conservationists and their professionals didn't buy off the movement; they built it.

[VI]

ECOLOGY ACTIVISTS OUT picketing a polluter or cleaning up a creek will have total freedom to make up their own minds about the threats to our environment, and they will have every right to choose their own course of constructive action. Yet they will surely never get a dime from Robert Anderson, or even a farthing from Ford or Rockefeller. And so far, the grass-roots ecology movement has done nothing but echo the eco-elite.

Ecology, unlike most of the fractured scientific field, is holistic. It talks of life and its environment as a totality: how organisms relate to each other and to the system which provides their life-support system. As a discipline applied to human affairs, then, ecology should help us get a whole view of our natural and social environment—from oxygen cycles to business cycles, from the jeopardized natural environment to the powerful institutional environment which creates that jeopardy. If it revealed these interconnections, ecology would become, as it has been called, a "subversive science," subverting the polluters and resource-snatchers who now control the conservation of the nation's wealth. It would point the finger not simply at profit-making polluters or greedy consumers, but at the great garbage-creation system itself—the corporate capitalist economy.

But this is a far cry from the ecology movement as we have inherited it. Ecology, the science of interconnections, becomes a matter of cleaning up beaches and trying to change individuals' habits and attitudes, while ignoring the institutions which created them and practically all environmental damage.

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THE GRASS-ROOTS ECOLOGY groups do have politics—the politics of consumer boycotts, shareholder democracy and interest group pluralism, all of which show a wonderfully anachronistic faith in the fairness of the market, political and economic. "If Dow pollutes," say the boycotters, "then we just won't buy Saran Wrap." If Super Suds won't make biodegradable soap, we'll buy Ivory. If Ford and Chevy won't make steam cars, we'll buy Japanese imports. From the planned obsolescence in automobiles, to 20 brands of toothpaste, much of what industry produces is insulting to the intelligence while also serving no real need; it is waste, to say nothing of the enormous pollution entailed in overproduction.

Consumer sovereignty has gone the way of the dodo, its passing noted two decades back by that stalwart defender of the new corporate capitalism, John Kenneth Galbraith. Consumers just don't control what gets produced, or how. To educate or build support for some stronger action, boycotts, like the picket line, work well. But to change production habits, an ecology movement will really have to pull the big plug at the other end of the TV transmitter, or better, at the production line itself.

Failing in the economic arena, the ecology groups can of course try their hand directly in the political marketplace. Oil has its lobby, the auto manufacturers theirs. Why not a People's Lobby? Californians have already created one, which is now pushing in Sacramento for a referendum "to make the polluters pay." The Environmental Defense League, geared primarily to the court system, is also defending the environment in Congress. The Sierra Club has already lost its tax-exempt status for being too political, and a number of the older conservation groups are pushing new, streamlined legislation. The strategy seems to be paying off, winning victories here and there. Most of the victories, however, merely strengthen the regulatory agencies, which, after public vigilance peters out, will become tools of the big corporations.

Where boycotts and stockholder strategies simply fail, the interest group politics may lead the ecology movement off the edge of a very well-conserved cliff. Eco-catastrophe threatens to kill us all—and Mother Nature, too. But to engage in the give-and-take of interest group politics, the ecologists must grant serious consideration to and must compromise with the oil interests, auto manufacturers and other powerful business groups. Standard Oil gets Indonesia only if they will market that country's prized sulphur-free oil here; the auto makers can keep producing their one-man-one-car civilization in return for making additional profit (and apparent compromise) on smog control. The world is dying: write your congressman today.

From lobbying, the eco-groups will move into the nearest election, trying to put Paul Ehrlich or David Brower in office. But elections aren't won on single issues. Allies must be wooed, coalitions built. Already parochial and out of sympathy with the blacks and other out-groups, the environmentalists, anxious to infiltrate the electoral system, will become even more respectable and more careful to avoid contamination by "extreme" positions or people. They will become further compartmentalized and will be at dead center, sacrificing even those of their own who refuse to compromise.

Avoiding "politics," the ecologists have taken up the old liberal shuck. Give equal freedom to aristocrats and the people, to bosses and workers, to landlords and tenants, and let both sides win. The scheme, of course, overlooks the one-sided distribution of resources, money and media-power. Some "reformers" will have all they need, but their solution, which will become *the* solution, is itself a good part of the problem. Profit-seekers and growthmongers can't co-exist with Mother Nature and her fragile children without doing them irreparable harm.

To save any semblance of democracy, a decent relationship to the environment and perhaps the environment itself—ecology, the "in" movement, must become a movement of the outs. It must be committed to a long-term militant fight on more clearly understood grounds—its *own* grounds. That too might be impossible. But, as Eugene V. Debs once observed, it's a lot better to fight for what you want and not get it, than to fight for—and get—what you don't want.

Katherine Barkley is a staff member of the Pacific Studies Center.

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NIXON is allowing death and destruction to continue and to increase.
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3 We, the signers of this declaration, believe this war to be immoral. We believe it to be illegal. We must oppose it.

4 At Nuremberg, after World War II, we tried, convicted and executed men for the crime of OBEYING their government, when that government demanded of them crimes against humanity. Millions more, who were not tried, were still guilty of THE CRIME OF SILENCE.

5 We have a commitment to the laws and principles we carefully forged in the AMERICAN CONSTITUTION, at the NUREMBERG TRIALS, and in the UNITED NATIONS CHARTER. And our own deep democratic traditions and our dedication to the ideal of human decency among men demand that we speak out.

We Therefore wish to declare our names to the office of the Secretary General of the United Nations, both as permanent witness to our opposition to the war in Vietnam and as a demonstration that the conscience of America is not dead.

On September 23, 1965, a Memorandum of Law was incorporated in the Congressional Record of the 89th Congress of the United States of America, in which leading American attorneys, after careful analysis of our position and actions in the Vietnam War, came to the conclusion that the U.S. is violating the following accords: The Charter of the United Nations, The Geneva Accords of 1954, the United States Constitution.

To Protest—To Object—To Dissent has long been an American tradition. The following are a few among the many who have signed this declaration to be on permanent record.

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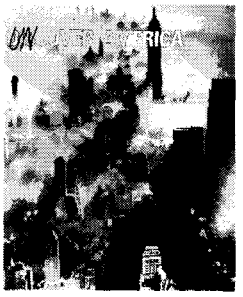

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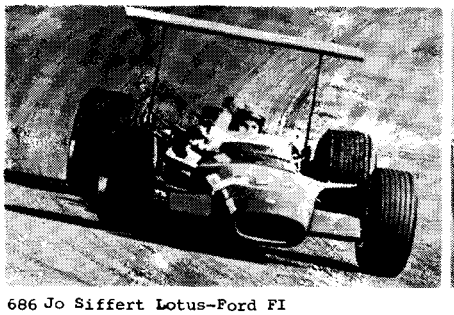
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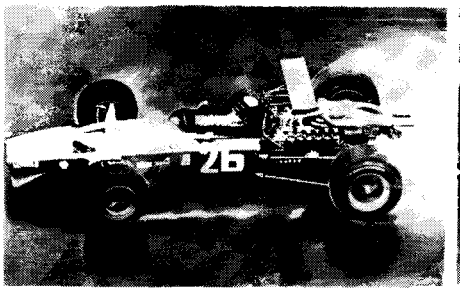

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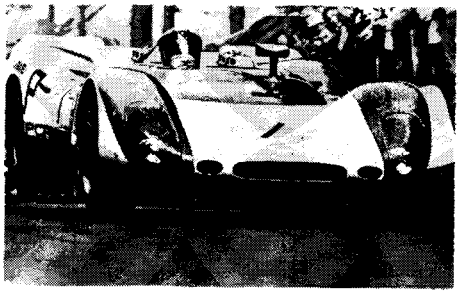
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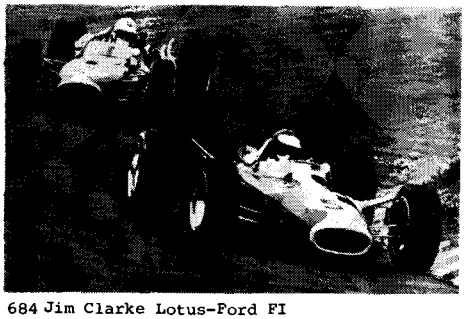
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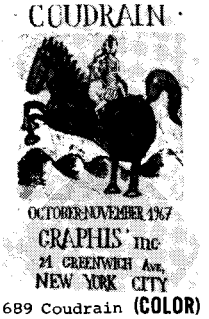

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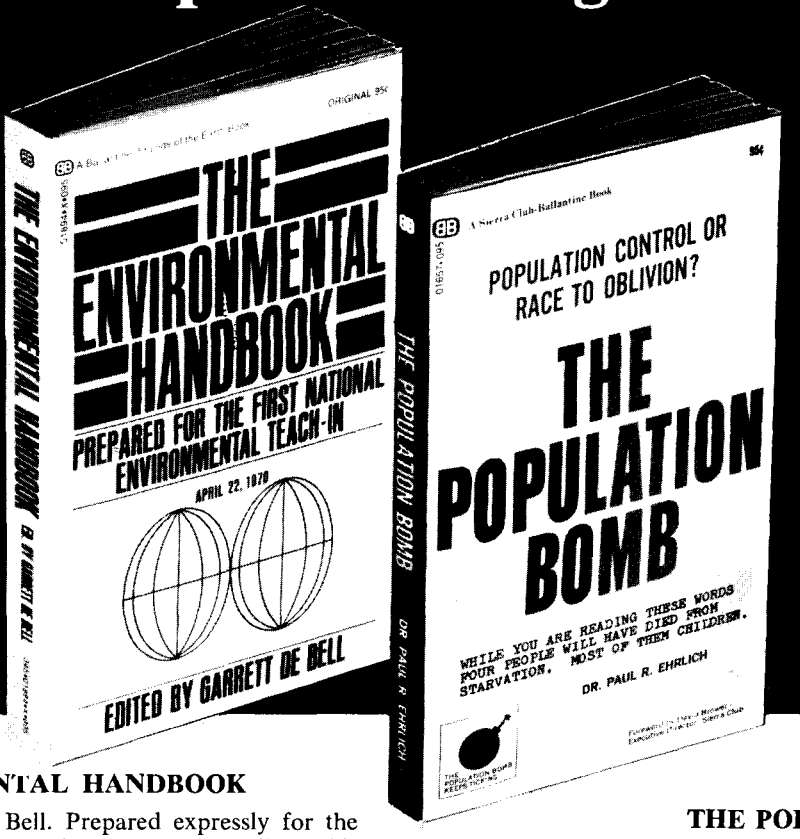

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